



**DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY IN SPAIN FROM  
TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURY A. D.**

**ABSTRACT**

**THESIS SUBMITTED  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN ARABIC**

**BY  
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**UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF  
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The thesis is a survey and analysis of the different types of historical works written by Spanish historians during 10th, 11th and 12th centuries A.D. along with short biographical account of their authors. It is divided into five chapters as follows:

1. A Short History of Muslim Spain.
2. Origin and development of Historiography in Arabic.
3. Origin of Historiography in Spain and its development during 10th century A.D.
4. Development of Historiography in Spain during 11th Century A.D.
5. Development of Historiography in Spain during 12th Century A.D.

The first two chapters are written as a background for the later three chapters which constitute the main part of the thesis.

The first chapter, based on the contemporary sources, gives, as the title indicates, in short the history of Spain from the time of its conquest by the Muslims (91/710) to the fall of the Nasrids of Granada (897/1492) under the following sub-heads:

- (a) Conquest of Spain (b) The history of Spain upto the restoration of the Umayyad rule (c) The Umayyad Amirate in Spain (d) The Umayyad Caliphate in Spain

(e) *Mulūk al-Tawā'if* (f) The Murābīṭs in Spain (g) The Muwahhids in Spain (h) The Haprid Kingdom of Granada.

The second chapter says how history writing originated in Arabic with the inspiration from the Qur'ān and when the necessity of preserving the traditions of the Prophet arose, how the different types of history writing such as (a) *Sīrah* and *Maḡāzī* of the Prophet (b) World Histories (c) Local Histories (d) Genealogy (e) Biography etc. were originated and developed, who were the major historians in each field and which works were written by them upto the Mongol period. In this chapter a passing survey of the works of historians like Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī, al-Balāghurī, al-Tabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Athīr, Abu'l Fida, al-Maqrīzī, Yāqūt al-Hamawī, Ibn Khallikān, al-Dhahabī, al-Safadī, Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalanī, Ibn Baṭūṭah and Ibn Khaldūn has been made.

The third chapter mentions that history writing started in Spain only during the 9th century A.D. when more than a century had lapsed since the conquest of Spain by the Muslims. It has been possible to trace the names of only three historians of this century. They are 'Abd al-Malik b. Iḥab al-Bulani (d. 332/333), Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Qurtubī (d. 343 A.H.) and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kinānī al-Rānī (d. 373 A.H.). The development of historiography in Spain during 10th century A.D. was

mainly in three fields, namely (a) History of Spain (b) History of the nations other than Spain and (c) Biographies. All the extant works in each category have been subjected to a critical analysis along with short biographical accounts of their authors. The works critically analysed in this chapter include *Ta'riḥ Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, *Ṣilah Ta'riḥ al-Ṭabarī*, *Ta'riḥ al-'Ulamā' w-al-Ruṣāt lil 'Ilm bi'l Andalus* and *Ṭabaqāt al-Aḥbāb w-al-Huṣanā'.*

The fourth chapter says that historiography in Spain made great progress during 11th century A.D. The works written during this period are divided mainly into four categories : (a) History of Spain (b) General Histories (c) History of Sciences and (d) Biographies. As is the case with the previous chapter, all the extant works in each category have been subjected to a critical analysis. Among the notable historians whose works have been critically examined in this chapter are : (a) Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469 A.H.) the author of *al-Muqtabis* and *Kitāb al-Mubīn* (b) Ṣā'id b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī (d. 423 A.H.) the author of *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, *Ta'riḥ al-Islām*, *Ta'riḥ al-Andalus* and *Jamī' Aḥbār al-Umam min al-'Arab w-al-'Ajam* (c) al-Ḥamaydī (d. 423 A.H.) the author of *Ta'riḥ al-Islām* and *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis* and (d) Ibn Ḥasam (d. 436 A.H.) the author of *Jawāmi' al-Sīrah.*

The fifth chapter deals with the progress made in the field of historiography during 12th century A.D. The works



written during this period are divided into three categories, namely (a) History of Spain (b) General History and (c) Biography. It may be pointed out here that during this century the Spanish historians did not make such progress in their field as their predecessors had made during the previous century. However, a special feature of this century was the use of rhymed prose by Ibn Khāqān (d. 539 A.H.) and Ibn Bassām (d. 543 A.H.) in their biographical works. Ibn Badrūs Sharaf (qāḍī Ibn Ibn 'Abdūn is a work which has a universal outlook. Ibn Baḡhūwāl (d. 578 A.H.) and al-Dabḡī (d. 599 A.H.) are among the other notable biographers. All the extant works have been analysed critically in this chapter.

The thesis brings into light 82 Spanish historians of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries A.D. and the 82 works written by them in addition to three historians who belonged to the 9th century and their works.



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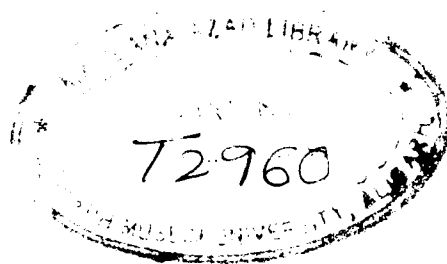
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## P R E F A C E

History is a branch of literature to which the Arab Muslims have made great contribution. Many researches have been made to bring into light the real worth of their contribution in this field in different countries and at different times. Some major historians like al-Jabari, al-Mas'udi, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Khaldun have been subjected to special study by the researchers.

History writing originated in Spain during the 9th century A.D. under the influence of the eastern Muslim historians who, as mentioned above, had made great contribution to this branch of knowledge. Its delayed start there was due to the fact that there was no previous tradition of history writing in Spain itself and the eastern Muslims remained pre-occupied with the conquest of the country and could not pay attention to intellectual activity for a long time. During the following centuries, however, the process of history writing continued and some of the greatest historians flourished between 10th and 12th centuries. Though historians like Abū Bakr al-Bāzī (d. 937 A.D.), Ibn al-Qūtiyah (d. 977 A.D.) and Ibn ḥayyān (d. 1075 A.D.) are well known, no one has made an attempt to find out the real contribution the Spanish Muslims have made to this branch of literature. In this context it is considered worthwhile to trace the development of historiography in Spain from 10th to 12th century A.D. Hence the present study.

The present study is a survey and analysis of the different types of historical works written by Spanish Muslim during this period along with short biographical accounts of these historians.

According to the information available to us there lived during the 9th century only three historians, namely 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. 238/853), Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Qurṭubī (d. 242 A.H.) and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Kinānī al-Rāzī (d. 273 A.H.). They have written history of Spain, general history and biography. They have used the *Tabaqāt* system in writing the biographies.

The contribution the Spanish historians made during 10th, 11th and 12th centuries A.D. may be divided into four categories, namely (a) History of Spain, (b) General History, (c) History of Sciences and (d) Biography. But they paid main attention to the history of Spain. The '*Tārīkh Mulūk al-Andalus*', by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 326 A.H.), a history of the ancient Spanish kings, and '*Tārīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*' by Ibn al-Qūtiyyah (d. 977 A.D.) are two noteworthy works in this category. Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469 A.H.), the author of '*al-Muqtabis*' in ten volumes and '*Kitāb al-Mubīn*' in sixty volumes, is considered as the greatest historian in this category.

Among general histories '*Tārīkh al-Islām*' and '*Jāmi' Akhbār al-Umm Min al-'Arab u-al-'Ajam*' by Ḥā'id b. al-Andalusī

(d. 462 A.H.) and 'Bulghat al-Musta'jil' or 'Tā'rikh al-Islām' by al-Humaydī (d. 438 A.H.) are noteworthy. 'Tā'rikh al-Kabīr' or 'Jāmi'un lil Akhbār' written in more than 100 volumes by 'Abd al-Malik b. Ahmad (d. 393 A.H.) was a great contribution in this field. The 'Sharah qasidah Ibn 'Abdūn' is a work with universal outlook by Ibn Badrūn (d. after 603 A.H.).

In the category of history of sciences we have only one small but very informative work, 'Tabaqāt al-Umam' by Ṣā'id b. al-Andalusī (d. 462 A.H.). This is a rare work of its kind in the whole historical literature produced by the Muslims.

It seems that Spanish historians had a particular liking for writing biographies. Individual biographies as well as biographical dictionaries were written but more attention was paid to the biographical dictionaries. Biographies of the Prophet and the companions, of the Spanish people and of the people belonging to other nations were written. However the largest number of biographies written were those of the Spanish people. 'Tā'rikh al-'Ulamā' w-al-Ruṣṣ lil 'Ilm bi'l Andalus' by Ibn al-Faragī (d. 403 A.H.), 'Jughat al-Muqtabis' by al-Humaydī (d. 438 A.H.), 'Kitāb al-Silah' by Ibn Bashirwāl (d. 578 A.H.) and 'Bughyat al-Multanis' by al-Jabbāl (d. 399 A.H.) are a few of the most notable biographical works dealing with the Spanish people. 'Jawāmi' al-Sīrah' by Ibn Hazm (d. 456 A.H.)

is a meritorious biography of the Prophet. The 'Tabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' w-al-Hukamā' by Ibn Juljul (d. after 384 A.H.) is a biographical dictionary with universal outlook. The use of rhymed prose by Ibn Khāqān (d. 529 A.H.) and by Ibn Bassām (d. 543 A.H.) in writing biographical dictionaries was a development which took place only during the 12th century A.D.

It seems that many of the historical works written during this period have been lost mainly due to the uncivilised attitude of the later Christian rulers who succeeded the Muslims in Spain. Jurjī Zaydān says: The last library of Arabic books which the Europeans put to fire was the library of Granada<sup>1</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>burned by</sup> Archbishop Ximenez at the end of the ninth century of Hijrah. There were at least 80,000 volumes in this library. He ordered to burn them because they contained books which differed from the Bible. They (the Europeans) roamed in the city and took all the books possessed by the Muslims and burned them. Among these burned books, undoubtedly, a sizable portion must have consisted of historical works.

Because of these losses it becomes difficult for one of to evaluate the real progress made by the Spanish Muslims in the field of historiography. But in the present thesis an

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1. Jurjī Zaydān : Tā'rikh Adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah

3 : 123-4.



attempt has been made to collect from all possible sources as much information and to give as clear a picture as possible.

The present thesis brings into light, apart from the three historians of the 9th century A.D. and their six works, 82 Spanish historians of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries and 82 works by them.

During this study we discover many interesting points regarding these historians and their works. First of all we notice that all the historians during this time were Muslims and we see no body from any other community who contributed to historiography in Spain. It may be possible that either there existed no historians of any other community or there existed some non-Muslim historians but they were ignored by the Muslim writers and their works were not preserved. There is still another possibility, that is their works were destroyed by the later Christian rulers so that they could blame the Muslims for this and accuse them of being prejudiced against non-Muslims.

A factor which seems to be common in the lives of the historians of this period is that many of them held various government posts. For instance, 'Abd al-Malik b. Shuhayd al-Qurtubī (d. 393/1003) and 'Alī b. Ḥamm (d. 456/1064) were ministers; 'Arīb b. Sa'd and Ibn Juljul were court physicians of 'Abd al-Rahmān III and al-Ḥakam II respectively; Ibn al-Faraj

al-Jayyānī was a court poet of al-Hakam II; many of them were qāṣīd and some were teachers. Some historians like Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Haḡramī got the opportunity to travel widely and to see things with their own eyes. Besides history, many of them have contributed to many other branches of knowledge like Law, tradition, literature, philosophy and medicine. For example, Ibn al-Qūtiyah was a well reputed grammarian also. Another noteworthy point is that most of the Spanish historians of this period possessed praiseworthy qualities. Ibn Khāqān seems to be an exception as he was a man addicted to drinking.

A comparative study of the historical works written in Arabic in Spain and those in other Muslim countries reveal many similarities. Spanish historians have written world histories, local histories and biographies as is the case with their eastern counterparts. For writing world histories and local histories both of them have used the annalistic as well as dynastic methods but annalistic method became more popular in Spain. But for the disadvantage that their works are not extant, 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. 238 A.H.) who wrote 'al-Tā'riḡh' from the creation of the Universe upto his own time, 'Abd al-Malik b. Aḡmad (d. 393 A.H.) who wrote 'Tā'riḡh al-Kabīr' in 100 volumes and ḡā'id b. al-Andalusī (d. 463 A.H.) who wrote 'Jāmi' Akḡbār al-Ummah min al-'Arab w-al-'Ajam' appear as the three great historians of Spain who could be ranked with al-Ṭabarī and the like in the east. The Spanish

historians also wrote *Sīrah* and *Maghāzī* of the Prophet. From the very early period of history writing in Spain we see that the *Ṭabaqāt* system was followed and many biographical works were written according to this system throughout the period covered by this thesis. Among those who wrote local histories Ibn Ḥayyān was the greatest.

A speciality of the works under study is that almost all of them contain atleast a few pieces of poetry.

When we take into consideration the historians of Spain as a whole we find that only a few of them had a universal outlook. As far as the majority is concerned, their horizon was limited either to the Muslim Spain or at the most to the Islamic peoples.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter provides a short history of Muslim Spain from its conquest by the Muslims in 91/710 till the fall of the Nagrids of Granada in 897/1492. The second chapter, as it is apparent from its title, deals with the origin and development of historiography in Arabia upto the Mongol period. These two chapters are written in order to serve as a background for the later three chapters which constitute the main part of the thesis. Origin of historiography in Spain and its development during 10th century A.D. is the subject of the third chapter

while the fourth and fifth chapters deal with development of historiography in Spain during 11th and 12th centuries respectively.

Before I conclude I must express my deep sense of gratitude to so many people who have helped me in so many ways to complete this work. First of all I am deeply indebted to my Supervisor, Dr. E.R. Sherwani, Reader, Department of Arabic, who encouraged me to undertake this study and guided me in adopting the correct methodology and procedure of research. He was patient enough to go through the whole manuscript making necessary corrections. Without his guidance<sup>I</sup> would not have been able to complete the work. I am also grateful to Professor Mukhtar-ud-Din Ahmad, Head, Department of Arabic, for his generous help and encouragement which made it possible for me to carry out this work successfully. I find no words to express my profound thanks to him. I am highly grateful to the U.G.C. for awarding me a research fellowship.

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Aligarh, 28th  
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UNAID A.

## CHAPTER I

### A SHORT HISTORY OF MUSLIM SPAIN

Modern Portugal and Spain, that is the Iberian Peninsula, were known in the Islamic World upto the end of the Middle Ages by the term Muslim Spain or al-Andalus or Jamīrat al-Andalus. 'South West <sup>of</sup> Europe of forms a massive promontory, almost pentagonal in shape, joined to the continent by the range of Pyrenees and washed on the remaining sides by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> Cut off by the barrier of the Pyrenees from the rest of the continent of Europe, it is only separated from Africa by the narrow straits of Gibraltar, bounded to the North and South by the bridgeheads of Tarifa and Ceuta.<sup>2</sup>

#### CONQUEST OF SPAIN:

Only after about eighty years of the death of the Allah's last Prophet on 8th June, 632 A.D. the Muslim Empire spread in the West upto North Africa. From 700 A.D. onwards the governor of North Africa, under the Umayyads, was Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr. European people (Ifriqiyah) were living in Spain before they were conquered by the Goths who ruled there for about 400 years before the Muslims. Roderic (Lusīq), a title used for their king, was the last Gothic ruler whose capital was Toledo when Muslims entered Spain.<sup>3</sup> Tāriq b. Zayd, who was the governor of

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islam 1 : 486 (Leiden, 1967).

2. Ibid. 487.

3. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-Diwan al-Mubtada' wa'l-Khabar 4 : 116-17. (Sulṣa, Egypt, 1367 A.H.).

Tanja, a city near al-Qayrawān,<sup>1</sup> landed in Spain in the month of Ramadān 92 A.H.,<sup>2</sup> with orders from Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the governor of North Africa under the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>3</sup> with an army of about three hundred 'Arabs and ten thousand Berbers Tāriq entered the Jabal al-Fath which was later named after him as Jabal Tāriq.<sup>4</sup> Hearing the news King Roderic started with an army of 40,000 christians and other non-Arabs to meet the Muslim army at Fās<sup>5</sup> Sharīsh, only to be defeated by them.<sup>6</sup> They enslaved the non-Muslims and collected booty from them. Tāriq decided to advance further. The cities of the Gothic Kingdom, Iṣṭiṣṭa, Cordova, Toledo, Jilīqiyā and Asturqa, fall one after another.<sup>6</sup> Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, anxious not to leave to Tāriq alone all the prestige of the conquest, started from Qayrawān in Rajab 93 A.H. to Spain with a huge army. He appointed his son 'Abd Allāh to look after the affairs of the state in his place.<sup>7</sup> Mūsā entered Spain through the coast

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 117; 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Harrākushī : al-Mu'jib fī Tārikh al-Akbar al-Maghrib : 6 (Leiden, 1847 A.D.).
  2. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Tārikh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 33 (Beirut, 1958); al-Harrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 6.
  3. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Tārikh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 30, Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 117.
  4. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 117.
  5. Ibid.
  6. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Tārikh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 35.
  7. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Harrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 8.

of al-Badajiz, which was different from the way which Tāriq had adopted, and conquered <sup>1</sup> al-Badajiz and Seville. At Isturqa Mūsā met Tāriq, who surrendered to him all the wealth collected as booty and thus the honour of the victory of the places which were actually conquered by Tāriq was annexed by Mūsā b. Nusayr. <sup>2</sup> While Mūsā b. Nusayr was continuing his conquest he received order from Caliph al-Walid to return to Syria with Tāriq. <sup>3</sup> Leaving his son 'Abd al-'Azīz <sup>in</sup> command of al-Andalus, Mūsā made his way to Syria. <sup>4</sup> On his return journey he was accompanied by four hundred Visigothic princes wearing gold crowns and girdled with gold belts <sup>5</sup> and was followed by thirty thousand prisoners of war and camels loaded with enormous treasures of booty. <sup>6</sup> Mūsā reached Tabariyya in the year 96 A.H. and presented all that he had brought with him to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. It is said that he also met al-Walid.

Sulaymān imprisoned Mūsā b. Nusayr and subjected him to various kinds of insults. <sup>8</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Jū'ayyāh : Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 35.
  2. al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 8.
  3. Ibn al-Jū'ayyāh : Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 35-6.
  4. al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 8.
  5. Ibn al-Jū'ayyāh : Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 36.
  6. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 118.
  7. al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 8.
  8. Ibn al-Jū'ayyāh : Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 36.



The History of Spain upto the restoration  
of the Umayyad Rule:

Spain was now a province of the caliphate. The immediate successors of Mūsā b. Nuḡayr had only small territories in the north and east of the peninsula to conquer and comparatively few revolts to quell. Within a period of seven years the conquest of Spain was completed.

After the departure of Mūsā b. Nuḡayr to Syria a number of governors succeeded one another in Spain receiving the appointment orders either directly from the Caliph or from the governor of North Africa. This was a period of political confusion. During this period the old rivalry between North Arabians or Mudarites and South Arabians or Yamanites reawoke in Spain. While the Mudarites followed the Sunni way of life, the Yamanites followed Shi'ism. The names of governors who ruled in Spain during this period are as follows:

1. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā b. Nuḡayr (96-97/713-14).
2. Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī (97-713).
3. al-Hurr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Thaqafī (97-100/713-17-719)
4. al-Samh b. Mālik al-Jawlānī (100-102/719-21)
5. 'Anbasa b. Suhaym al-Kalbi (102-107/721-26)
6. 'Udhra b. 'Abd Allah al-Fihri (107/726)
7. Yahyā b. Salām al-Kalbi (107-110/726-728)

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1. Ibn al-Qūtiyah : Tārīkh Iftitāb al-Andalus : 38, 39-41, 41-5;  
Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 118-20; Encyclopedia of  
Islam I : 493.

8. Ḥuḡhayr b. al- Ahwas al-qayrī (110/728)
9. 'Uthmān b. 'Abī Hish'a al-Khath'amī (110-111/728-729)
10. al-Hayyān b. 'Jabrd al-Kilābī (111/729-30)
11. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ashja'ī (111-112/730)
12. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shāfi'ī (112-114/730-732)
13. 'Abd al-Malik b. Qatan al-Fihri (114-116/732-734)
14. 'Uqba b. al- Hajjāj al-Salūlī (116-123/734-741)
15. 'Abd al-Malik b. Qatan, for the second time (123/741)
16. Balj b. Bisr al-Qushayrī (123-124/741-742)
17. Tha'laba b. Salām al-'Amīlī (124-125/742-743)
18. Abu'l Khattār al-Huḡām b. Dirār al-Kalbī (126-127/743-745)
19. Thawāba b. Salām al-Judhāmī (127-129/745-746)
20. Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri (129/746-138/756, date of the proclamation of 'Abd al-Rahmān I).

#### THE Umayyad Amirate in Spain

##### 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'awiya b. Hishām

When the 'Abbasids signalized their accession to the throne in the East by killing the last 'Umayyad Caliph 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Hakam, in 132 A.H. and by a general massacre of the members of the house of Umayyah, among

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1. Al-Dabbi : *Dughyat al-Mulṭamīs* : 14 (Madrid, 1334 A.D.) and 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marākushī : *al-Mu'jib* : 10 consider 133 A.H. as the year in which the 'Abbasides succeeded the Umayyads after killing Caliph al-Walid b. Yazid. 'Abd al-Malik.

those who escaped from them was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>1</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān was born in Syria in the year 113 A.H.<sup>2</sup> Escaping death at the hands of the 'Abbāsids 'Abd al-Rahmān finally, accompanied by his freedman Badr, reached the Zanāṭ tribe of north-Africa which welcomed him heartily. From there 'Abd al-Rahmān tried his lot in Spain by sending Badr to negotiate with the Syrian divisions now in Spain who were former proteges of the house of the Umayyads. The mission proving successful, 'Abd al-Rahmān landed in Spain in 138 A.H. Seville and Shaghūna accepted his superiority without much difficulty. Overcoming the resistance from the then governor of Spain, Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri,<sup>3</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān made himself master of Cordova. Thus, by gaining the kingdom of Spain for himself and quelling all the revolts, 'Abd al-Rahmān established the sovereignty of the Banū Marwān in the West by renewing the effaced remnants of their caliphate in the East.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 120-21.

2. Al-Dabbī : Duḥyat al-Multanis : 15; al-Marrākushi:Al-Mu'jib : 11.

3. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4: 121.

4. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 122; al-Dabbī : Duḥyat al-Multanis : 14.

His reign, till his death in 172 A.H., was completely full of internal struggles, preventing him from concentrating on developmental activity. One of the external threats, which he quelled easily, was the temerity shown by the 'Abbāsid caliph, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, to send al-'Alā' b. al-Mughhith al-Jadhāmī to Spain as the governor. But in the battle fought near Seville 'Abd al-Rahmān defeated and killed al-'Alā' and seven thousand men among his followers.<sup>1</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān put the head of al-'Alā' in a pot with salt and camphor and sent it with the diploma of appointment to al-Manṣūr in Mecca when he went there for Hajj. Seeing it al-Manṣūr exclaimed : Praise be to Allāh for the sea being placed between us and an enemy like him!<sup>2</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān stopped the practice of praying for the 'Abbāsid caliph in the Friday khutūba though he and his successors were satisfied only with the title of Amīr.<sup>3</sup> It was during his period that al-ghāzī b. ḡays introduced the ~~movement~~ of Imām Mālik to Spain and the people there began to follow the Malikiya system of jurisprudence.<sup>4</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dāghil<sup>5</sup> was a learned and just man. He was a poet also.

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 122.

2. Ibn al-Qūṭaybah : Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 57-8.

3. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 122.

4. Ibn al-Qūṭaybah : Tārīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus : 53.

5. Al-ḡabbā : Bughyat al-Mulṭamīs:15.

Hishām b. 'Abd al-Rahmān I:

After 'Abd al-Rahmān I his son Hishām succeeded. His proclamation provoked his two brothers, Sulaymān and 'Abd Allāh, to rebel against him. This revolt was easily quelled and they were compelled to emigrate to North Africa.<sup>1</sup> The reign of Hishām I (172-180 A.H.) was more peaceful than that of his father.

This comparative peace helped Hishām I to build a great Mosque in Cordoba and a large bridge near it.<sup>2</sup> Hishām I was an admirable ruler who looked after the affairs of the people with kindness, justice and humility. He used to visit the sick, accompany the dead bodies to the graveyard, give money in charity and adopt economy in his dress and modes of travel.<sup>3</sup> He died in 180 A.H.

Al-Hakam I b. Hishām I:

Al-Hakam succeeded his father, Hishām in Safar 180 A.H.,<sup>4</sup> when he was 22 years old. According to al-Qabbī and 'Abd al-

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 124.
  2. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Tārīkh Iftitāh : 65.
  3. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Tārīkh Iftitāh : 63; al-Marrākushī : al-Ma'jib : 12.
  4. Ibn al-Faradī : Ta'rīkh al-'Ulamā' al-Andalus : 12 (Cairo, 1934 A.H.)
  5. al-Qabbī : Bughyat al-Multani : 16.

<sup>1</sup> al-Harrākushī he was a tyrant, extra vagant and a man of evil deeds. But Ibn al-<sup>2</sup>Ṭūṭīyah and Ibn <sup>3</sup>Khalidūn consider him as a charitable person who looked after the welfare of his subjects and waged holy war (Jihād) against the infidels.

The reign of al-Hakam I was almost entirely devoted to suppressing the rebellions which were ceaselessly breaking out. His two uncles, who had rebelled against his father, renewed their attacks. The first, Sulaimān, was captured and killed in 184 A.H.; the second, 'Abd Allāh, was pardoned on agreement to live in Valencia without creating further trouble. Al-Hakam also made peace with the Jurist, Yahyā b. Yahyā, who was earlier indulging in political activity. While al-Hakam was engaged in curbing the revolts of his uncles, the French took advantage of the opportunity and conquered Barcelona in the year 185 A.H./ 801 A.D. Thus they prevented the marches of the Muslims beyond <sup>4</sup>it.

One of the important incidents which occurred during the reign of al-Hakam I was the revolt of al-Habad. In the middle of his rule al-Hakam I immersed himself in the pleasures of life and the learned and pious men of Cordova, like Yahyā b. Yahyā

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1. al-Harrākushī : al-Hu'jib : 12.

2. Ibn al-Ṭūṭīyah : Tārīkh Ifṭitāh : 67.

3. Ibn Khalidūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 125.

4. Ibid.

al-Laythī, Tālib and others, rose in revolt and, removing al-Hakam from the throne, appointed Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim instead. Al-Hakam was shut up in the castle. This incident took place in al-Rabad (a suburb of Cordova) in 190 A.H. But al-Hakam soon overcame the rebellion. The ringleaders were killed, the whole population of al-Rabad was asked to evacuate Spain and their houses and mosques were levelled to the ground. This incident earned al-Hakam the name al-Rabadī.<sup>2</sup>

Another incident of the same importance was that of the ditch. The people of Toledo were in constant revolt. To deal with them 'Amrūs b. Yūsuf was sent as governor of Toledo. As the conspiracy spread, all the nobles of Toledo were invited to a party in the castle in honour of the visit of the crown prince, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hakam. The invitees were supposed to enter the castle through one gate and to go out through another one. Beside the ditch in the castle an executioner was planted and as each guest entered the sword fell on his neck. In this way a majority of the troublesome Toledans were killed<sup>3</sup> and the rest, who escaped, became obedient. Five thousand<sup>4</sup> three hundred people were murdered on this occasion.

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 123.

2. al-pabbī : Buḥyat al-Multani : 16.

3. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 126-7; Ibn al-Ḥittīyah : Tārīkh Iftitāh : 70-71.

4. Ibn al-Ḥittīyah : Tārīkh Iftitāh : 70.

It was also in this period that the Kharijites made<sup>1</sup> their appearance in Spain. Al-Hakam I died in 206 A.H.<sup>2</sup>

'Abd al-Rahmān II b. al-Hakam I:

'Abd al-Rahmān succeeded his father in Dhū'l Hijja 206 A.H. and after ruling for 31 years, two months and 18<sup>3</sup> days he died in Rabī' al-awwal, 238 A.H.

Though at the beginning of his reign his father's uncle rose in revolt in Valencia and marched to Tudmir, he returned soon to Valencia and died there.<sup>4</sup> When in 230 A.H. the Majūs attacked Seville for the first time, 'Abd al-Rahmān took every step to see that they were driven away from Spain and the natives who had left Seville were reinstalled there.<sup>5</sup> To prevent a second attack from them he, as a precaution, got ready cavalry and navy with necessary armaments. But the attack actually<sup>6</sup> took place during the reign of his successor in 244 A.H.

It appears that in his reign the people were quite prosperous. He showed due respect to the learned and the poets.

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1. Ibn al-Qūtiyah : Tārīkh Iftitāh : 71.
  2. Al-Dabbī : Luḡyat al-Mulṭanīs : 16.
  3. Ibn al-Faradī : Tārīkh al-'Ulamā' : 12-13.
  4. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 127.
  5. Ibn al-Qūtiyah : Tārīkh Iftitāh : 84-85.
  6. Ibid. 88.



He had such a high regard for the faqih Yahyā b. Yahyā that no appointment of judges was made without his consent.

He himself led the army in the battle field many a time. In the field of literature and art the most important persons were 'Ubayd Allāh b. Qasrān b. Badr al-Jāhil and the musician Ziryāb<sup>1</sup>. Ziryāb was the court musician of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Amin. He came to Spain when Amin was murdered. Ziryāb was the student of the equally renowned teacher Ishāq al-Mawṣilī. The knowledge of songs, mastery over physical sciences, magnetic personality, refined manners and ready wit made Ziryāb the social model in Spain.

Thus Muslim Spain, under 'Abd al-Rahmān II, for the first time, began to emulate the 'Abbasid civilization. The native christians of Spain, who at this time were conscious of their inferiority in art, poetry, philosophy and science, began to ape the Arab way of life. These christians later acquired the name Mozarabs.

#### Muhammad I b. 'Abd al-Rahmān II:

At the death of his father, 'Abd al-Rahmān II, Muhammad I succeeded him. He reigned for 34 years and died in Safar

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1. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Tārīkh Ifrīqiyyah : 81.

<sup>1</sup>  
273 A.H. He was a lover of knowledge and was particularly  
fond of the traditionists.<sup>2</sup> He was not hasty in his deeds  
and kept away from sins. He showed great respect to the  
learned men, soldiers and was kind to all the other people.<sup>3</sup>

During his reign, in 345 A.H., the *Rajūs* again made  
their appearance in Seville and other parts of Spain and put  
to fire a large number of mosques. Ultimately the army of  
Muhammad I defeated them and took two war ships as booty. A  
group of Muslims also died in the battle.<sup>4</sup>

The christian uprising in Toledo, which was continuing  
from the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān II, was suppressed in the battle  
of Wādī Salūt.<sup>5</sup>

The revolt of the independent chief Ibn Hufṣūn took  
place in 357 A.H. at the Jibāl Ḥāliqa in the South west of  
Spain. He was defeated and had to make truce with the army of  
Amīr Muhammad.<sup>6</sup>

Muhammad also continued and completed the work of enlarg-  
ing the grand Mosque of Cordova which his father had started.

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1. Ibn al-Faradī : *Tārīkh 'Ulamā'* : 13; al-ḥabībī : *Bughyat al-Multamīs* : 16.

2. Al-ḥabībī : *Bughyat al-Multamīs* : 16.

3. Ibn al-Jūziyāh : *Tārīkh Iftitāh* : 92.

4. Ibn Khaldūn : *Kitāb al-'Ibar* 4 : 130-31; al-ḥaqqarī : *Ḥaṣṣ al-Ṭib* 1 : 328 (Egypt, 1949 A.D.).

5. Al-ḥaqqarī : *Ḥaṣṣ al-Ṭib* 1 : 328.

6. Ibn Khaldūn : *Kitāb al-'Ibar* : 4:132.

Al-Mundhir b. Muhammad I:

Al-Mundhir succeeded his father, Muhammad I, after his death. His reign lasted only for two years (273-75 A.H.) and was occupied with the war with Ibn Hafsūn whose influence was increasing day by day.

'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad I:

When al-Mundhir died, while fighting with Ibn Hafsūn in the mountain of Yashtar in 275 A.H., his brother 'Abd Allāh<sup>1</sup> succeeded him and returned with the army to Cordova. After reigning for 25 years and fifteen days 'Abd Allāh died in Rabi' al-awwal 300 A.H.<sup>2</sup> In his reign he remained involved in family feuds and continuous but short lived insurrections in which the enemies of the Mayyad regime also participated by entering into treaties with these insurgents.

In Badajoz and Ishbūna it was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Harwān, the Hwallid, who rose in revolt and formed an independent principality. In Merida Muhammad b. Tāhīt formed another independent principality. In Saragossa, Tudila and in Shanat of Rayya also revolts were in high peak. But the most dangerous of all the revolts came from 'Umar b. Hafsūn. After many vicissitudes of fortune he reached near Cordova, occupied

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-Ibar 4 : 132.

2. Ibn al-Faragī : Tārīkh al-'Ulamā' : 14.

Bilāya and built a fort there. He also opened negotiations with the 'Abbāsids and Aghlabids of Africa.<sup>1</sup> But 'Abd Allāh waged war against him and regained the forts of Bilāya, al-Thajja and Sivira which had come under the possession of Ibn Hafsūn.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Hafsūn continued his revolt till he died in 306 A.H., during the reign of 'Abd Allāh's successor, 'Abd al-Rahmān III.

When the whole of Spain rose in revolt during the time of 'Abd Allāh, Seville became under the influence of Ibnnyā b. 'Abd al-Qāfir, Kulayb b. Khaldūn al-Hadramī and his brothers Khālid and 'Abd Allāh. Ibn Hafsūn also made friendship with the kings of Jalaliya who sent envoys to his fort.<sup>3</sup> The attempt made by 'Abd Allāh's son, Muḥammad, to recapture Seville proved futile and it continued to be under them till the period of 'Abd al-Rahmān III.<sup>4</sup>

An example of family feuds in the court of 'Abd Allāh was the murder of Muḥammad, son of Amīr 'Abd Allāh, by his brother, al-Mutrif. In turn al-Mutrif himself was murdered by his own father as a revenge to his brother in 283 A.H.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Iṣar 4 : 136.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid : 136.

5. Ibid : 137.

Al-Rāzī has been quoted by Ibn Ḥayyān as saying : Asīr 'Abd Allāh was among the most pious and honest caliphs of the Umayyads in al-Andalus. His manners were exemplary and know-<sup>1</sup>ledge perfect.

#### THE Umayyad Caliphate in Spain

'Abd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāsir b. Muḥammad :

After 'Abd Allāh his grandson, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, succeeded him, in Rabi' al-awwal 300 A.H./912 A.D. He was<sup>2</sup> born on 15 Ramaḍān, 277 A.H. and died on 2nd Ramaḍān, 350 A.H./<sup>3</sup>961 A.D. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān III ascended there was only Cordova and its environs under the control of the Umayyads. But 'Abd al-Raḥmān proved himself the man of the hour. He found the whole of al-Andalus agitating against the ruling family. He quelled all the uprisings and reclaimed the lost provinces one after another. Seija was the first to surrender at the hands of Badr, the commander of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, in 300 A.H./<sup>4</sup>912 A.D. Following this 'Abd al-Raḥmān III himself fought and regained from Ibn Rāḥṣūn more than thirty forts including

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1. Ibn Ḥayyān : al-Muqtadīs 3 : 33 (Paris, 1907).
  2. Al-Jabbarī : Muḥyāt al-Mulṭamīs : 17.
  3. Ibn al-Faraḡī : Tārīkh 'Ulama' 1 : 14-15.
  4. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 139.

Ibīrah. In 301/913 Seville was taken back from Ahmad b. Muslim. In 302 A.H. Ibn Ḥafṣūn was completely routed from the sea.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥafṣūn, whose might was reducing step by step, remained defiant in Bobastro until death came to him in 305/917. Only Toledo remained to be subdued. It too fell under the sway of 'Abd al-Rahmān by 320 A.H./932 A.D.

The king of Leon, Ordono III, took advantage of the initial difficulties of 'Abd al-Rahmān III. But the victory of Valdejunquera and invasions on Hues and Pamplona made the Leonese and Navarrese respect him. However, in the war of Ditch in 323 A.H. 'Abd al-Rahmān III suffered a great set back. This defeat instigated 'Abd al-Rahmān to lead himself an army in every summer against the christians until he gained an unprecedented victory over them.<sup>2</sup> The christian nations began to submit to him in humility and send to him messengers and gifts from home and Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

In order to counter the attack on the southern part of Spain by the Fatimids, 'Abd al-Rahmān III invaded North Africa, occupied Ceuta and a considerable area of the northern part of Africa and recognised<sup>4</sup> as his protectorate.

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ithar 4 : 139.

2. Ibid., 4 : 137.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. 141.

When all the revolts were put down, 'Abd al-Rahmān laid the foundation of<sup>1</sup> glorious rule in Spain. As soon as he felt that the 'Abbāsid caliphate had weakened in the East with the murder of caliph al-Muqtadir by his mawālī, Mu'nis al-Mudaffar in 327 A.H., he adopted the title of 'Caliph' instead of 'Amīr'.<sup>1</sup> According to Ibn Khaldūn he provided for Spain order and prosperity at home and consideration and respect abroad. Agriculture, industry, commerce, the arts and sciences, all flourished in Spain during his reign.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Nāṣir did not take part personally in any other war after the war of al-Khandaq though earlier he used to lead the army frequently in every summer and the christian nations were afraid of him. In the year 36 the messengers of the ruler of constantinople, qustantīn b. Layūn b. Shal, came to him in a delegation with presents. He gathered the people to celebrate the occasion and to receive them on the day of their arrival, divided the army into battalions with weapons and dresses in the most perfect form, beautified the caliphal palace with various decorations and different kinds of curtains. He provided seats for his sons, brothers, uncles and relatives and made the wazīrs and other government officials to stand in their places according to their ranks. When the messengers entered

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 137

2. Ibid. 142.

there they were astonished by the sight they saw and they conveyed the message they had brought. He ordered the nobles to deliver a speech in the assembly glorifying the power of Islām and the caliphate and thank Allāh for his grace to make His Din overcome other religions and become so respectable that its enemies could no more humiliate it. The buildings<sup>1</sup> he constructed are described as:

'When al-Nāṣir attained eminence he turned his attention to constructing buildings and palaces. .... Among them were al-Majlis al-Zāhir, al-Bahv al-Kāmil and al-Qasr al-Munif. Near al-Zāhir he built his great palace and christened it as 'Dār al-Rawḍa'. He brought water to his palaces from the mountain and invited expert engineers and architects from all the countries. They came to him in large numbers even from Baghdad and Constantinople. Then he started building parks on the outskirts of his palaces. Water was brought to them from the highest mountains lying far away from there. Then he built the city of al-Zahrā' and took it as his abode and capital. There he constructed buildings, palaces and gardens which were higher than the buildings already mentioned. He provided large courtyards for wild animals to roam around and shady resting places for birds. He established there a factory in which weapons for war, ornaments for decoration and such other articles were made. He ordered to build a shade on the

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 144.



courtyard of the Mosque of Cordova as a protection for the people from the sun.'

The public treasury over flowed with money due to his efforts. Of the imperial revenues, which amounted to 32,45,000 dinars, a third was kept in reserve and the rest was spent in constructing buildings and on other expenditure of public utility.<sup>1</sup> It is said that he left in the public treasury a sum of 3000,000,000,000 dinars.<sup>2</sup> In short, in his time "Cordova, with its half million inhabitants, its three thousand mosques, its splendid palaces, its hundred and thirteen thousand houses, its three hundred public baths and its twenty eight suburbs, yielded in size and magnificence only to Baghdad, a city, indeed, to which the inhabitants loved to compare it."<sup>3</sup>

Al-Hakam II b. 'Abd al-Rahmān III, al-Mustansir Billāh:

After 'Abd al-Rahmān III, his son al-Hakam succeeded him in 350 A.H. and took the title of al-Mustansir Billāh. He was 47 when he came into power<sup>4</sup> and died in 366 A.H. after ruling for sixteen years.<sup>5</sup> His reign was peaceful and fruitful.

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1. Al-Maqqarī : Maḥ al-Tib 1 : 355-56.

2. Ibid. : 355.

3. R. Dozy : Spanish Islam (English Version) : 445 (London, 1913)

4. Al-ḡabbī : ḡuḡyat al-Mulṭamīs : 13.

5. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 147.

As a centre of intellectual activity, Cordova shone even more brilliantly than under 'Abd al-Rahmān III.

A raid by the Majūs on the sea-shore of the Bayr al-Kabīr in 354 A.H., in which much destruction took place in Iḥṣābūna, was easily repulsed and the whole sea-shore was easily taken back.<sup>1</sup> The superiority of the caliph's forces ensured complete security of the border land right from the beginning of his rule. He also made truce with the christian Spain. During this period envoys arrived in Cordova continuously. In North Africa al-Hakam II followed the policy of the his father. There he had only Ceuta and Tangier under his control. Al-Hakam II was also able to subdue the Idrisid princes who were brought to Cordova and later migrated to Alexandria.<sup>2</sup>

The real glory of this period lies in spheres other than political. Al-Hakam II himself was a learned man and respected man of learning. He collected books on various subjects like of which no king before him had collected.<sup>3</sup> The books so collected are said to have consisted of 400,000 volumes, their titles filling a catalogue of forty four volumes, in each one of

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 145.

2. Ibid., 146.

3. Al-Dabḥī : Bughyat : 18; Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4:143.

4. Al-Maqqarī : Naḥḥ al-Tib 1 : 371.

which twenty sheets were devoted to poetical works alone.<sup>1</sup> It is also said that in his library books were rarely seen which<sup>2</sup> were not read and marginal notes written by al-Hakam himself. He used to send merchants with money to purchase books from various countries. In order to secure the first copy of al-Aghānī, which al-Isbāḥānī, a descendant of the Umayyads, was then writing in 'Irāq, al-Hakam II sent the author a thousand dinars. Hence he became the Sultan of learning and the learned men and was visited by great men of learning like Abu 'Alī al-Jāli, the author of Kitāb al-Samā'ī, of Baghdād. Due to his influence the whole of Spain was filled with libraries, a situation which was witnessed neither before nor after him. This state prevailed in Spain till the majority of the books were sold by the Hājib al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Amr and the rest were plundered when the<sup>3</sup> Berbers entered Cordova.

Al-Hakam II was a man of praiseworthy habits and incli-<sup>4</sup> nations. He intended to stop the use of liquor in Spain and<sup>5</sup> acted accordingly.

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 146.
  2. Al-Maqqarī : Haff al-Tib 1 : 371-72.
  3. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 146.
  4. Al-Maqqarī : Haff al-Tib 1 : 371.
  5. Al-Dabbī : Baghyat al-Multamis : 18-19.

Hiṣḥām II b. al-Hakam II, al-Mu'ayyad Billāh:

Hiṣḥām II was only 10 years and a few months of age when<sup>1</sup> he succeeded his father in Saṭar, 356 A.H./October, 973 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Hiṣḥām's mother Ḥubb, of Basque origin, was the real power in state affairs at that time. She had a protégé, Muḥammad b. Abī 'Āmir. He started his career as a letter writer and ultimately became the virtual ruler of the kingdom. Under the patronage of the queen, Ḥubb, Muḥammad occupied one office after another and finally became the Ḥājib and Virīr. Hiṣḥām II, the Caliph, was kept away from the affairs of the state.

Muḥammad was intelligent, brave and firm in his religious beliefs. He pleased the army by giving them enormous gifts. The position of learned men rose in society and that of innovators were declined.<sup>3</sup> He built for himself a new city and named it Madīnah al-Zāhira and stayed there. The treasury and armoury were shifted to it. He ordered that he should be greeted as the king. He named himself al-Ḥājib al-Mungūr and issued orders, letters and proclamations in his name only. He had his name mentioned in the Friday sermon and on the coinage.<sup>4</sup> The only thing he did not do was to overthrow the nominal caliph in order to establish a caliphate of his own family.

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1. Al-Jabbī : Duḥyat al-Mulṭanīs : 19.
  2. Ibn al-Faradī : Tārīkh 'Ulamā' 1 : 15.
  3. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Iber 4 : 147.
  4. Ibid. : 148.

He led two expeditions every year and, in this way,<sup>1</sup> during his reign as a whole he led 52 military expeditions against the Northern Christians.<sup>2</sup> He won many victories over them and in his days al-Andalus was filled with booty and slaves, including women and children from Rome.<sup>3</sup> In North Africa the king of Zanāta was subdued before his army and acknowledged his power.<sup>4</sup>

It was his practice to hold a weekly assembly of learned men when he was present in Cordova.<sup>5</sup>

He died, while returning from a battlefield, at Madīnah Salīm in 393 A.H. (1002 A.D.) after ruling about 27 years.<sup>6</sup>

The reigns of 'Abd al-Rahmān III and his successor, al-Hakam II, together with that of al-Hājib al-Manṣūr, mark the apogee of the Muslim rule in Spain. Neither before nor after this the star of Muslims in Spain shone so brilliantly.

After al-Manṣūr his son, Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik, with the title al-Muẓaffar, succeeded as Hājib. In his reign, which

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1. Al-Jabāl : Bughyat al-Multanīs : 19; Al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 26.
  2. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 148.
  3. al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 26.
  4. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 148.
  5. al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 26.
  6. Ibid. : 26.

lasted for seven years till he died in 399/1008, he followed the foot prints of his father in political as well as military fields.<sup>1</sup>

'Abd al-Halik was succeeded by his brother, 'Abd al-Rahmān, as Hājib and acquired the title of al-Nāsir. He demanded the puppet Caliph, Hishām II, to name him officially as heir to the caliphate.<sup>2</sup> This outraged the Cordovans who revolted for four months and at last removed Hishām II from the throne and in the vacancy Muhammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāsir was installed and 'Abd al-Rahmān was murdered in Jamādī al-thāni, 399/1009.<sup>3</sup> With this episode there begins the complex sequence of several proclamations, dethronements and reinstatements supported either by the Berbers or their enemies which in the brief space of thirty years led to the downfall of the caliphate in Spain.

#### <sup>4</sup> The last Caliphs of Cordova:

1. Hishām II b. al-Hakam II al-Mu'ayyad Billah : 386-399/  
976-1009.
2. Muhammad II b. Hishām : 399-400/1009-1010.
3. Sulaymān b. al-Hakam, al-Musta'in : 400/1010.

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1. al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 27; al-Maqqarī : Harf al-Ṭib 1 : 400.
  2. Al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 27, Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 148.
  3. Al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 27; Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 149-50.
  4. Ahmad Azīm : Zubr al-Islām 3 : 315 (Beirut, 1969, A.D.); Encyclopaedia of Islam 1:494.

4. Muḥammad II (second time) : 400/1010.
5. Ḥishām II (second time) : 400-407/1010-1016.
6. Sulaymān (second time) : 407/1016.
7. 'Alī al-Nāṣir b. Ḥammūd 407-408/1016-1018.
8. 'Abd al-Rahmān IV b. Muḥammad al-Murtadā : 408/1018.
9. al-Qāsim al-Ma'mūn b. Ḥammūd : 408-412/1018-1021.
10. Yahyā al-Mu'talib 'Alī b. Ḥammūd 412-413/1021-1022.
11. al-Qāsim (second time) : 413-414/1022-1024.
12. 'Abd al-Rahmān V b. Ḥishām, al-Mustadhir : 414/1024.
13. Muḥammad III b. 'Abd al-Rahmān 414/416/1024-1025.
14. Yahyā b. 'Alī b. Ḥammūd (second time) 416-418/1025-27.
15. Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Rahmān IV, al-Mu'tamid : 418-422/1027-1031.

Mulūk al-Tawā'if or Petty Kings:

At the disintegration of the Umayyad Caliphate the Amīrs and leaders of the Berbers, 'Arabs and the Hawālīs formed their own independent principalities in different parts of Spain. Usually the weaker one was conquered by the mightier one or the mighty received tribute from the weak.

In this manner Cordova was ruled by the Jahwarids from 422/1031 to 461/1069. The Ḥammūd continued to rule Málaga till 449/1057. While the Aftasids took possession of Guadiana (wādī Tanā) and the central portion of modern Portugal from 413/1022 to 457/1065, the Dhū'l-Nūnids ruled Toledo from 400/1010 to 478/1085. In Granada, the Barber Zirids were ruling from 402/

1012 till they were defeated by the Murābita in 483/1090. The Hūdids ruled Saragossa (431/1040 to 540/1146), and the 'Abbā-  
dids Seville. A notable feature of these petty kings is that they inherited and initiated the pomp of the caliphate and amidst disorder and war in their courts art and culture flourished.

### The 'Abbāsidās

Among the petty kings the 'Abbāsidās in Seville were the most powerful.

At the disintegration of the Caliphate, Abu'l Qāsim Muḥammad b. 'Abbād succeeded in proclaiming himself as the ruler of Seville in 414/1023. He was a descendant of the Lakhmids of al-Hīrah. His forefathers entered Spain with the <sup>1</sup>Umayyad army at the time of conquest. When in 433/1042, he died, his son 'Abbād b. Muḥammad, succeeded him in taking the reins of power and took the title of al-Mu'tadid.<sup>2</sup> In his reign (433-461/1042-1070) Abū 'Amr 'Abbād b. Muḥammad enlarged the territory of the principality of Seville to a considerable size by posing as the champion of the Andalusian 'Arabs against the Spanish Berbers. The annexations of al-Mu'tadid increased the enmity of the Berber chiefs. One day he invited all the minor

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 136.

2. Ibid.



Barber princes to his palace at Seville for a feast and treacherously suffocated them to death in a bath. In this way Arcos,<sup>1</sup> Hron and Bonda were also annexed to Seville.

When al-Mu'tadid died in 401/1009, his son al-Mu'tamid b. al-Mu'tadid b. Ismā'īl Abu'l Qāsim took charge as the ruler of Seville.<sup>2</sup> In al-Mu'jib<sup>3</sup> the date of the death of al-Mu'tadid is given as Rajab 401 A.H. Soon after his accession he succeeded in taking Cordova from the hands of the Jahwarids.<sup>4</sup>

'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrākushī finds similarity between the courts of al-Mu'tamid and Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Mu'tamid had special interest in literature and the related arts. He possessed the noble qualities of bravery, munificence, modesty and honesty. In him these qualities were found in their highest degree.<sup>5</sup> In his court a number of poets had collected, among whom Abu'l Walīd Ahmad b. Zaydūn, Ibn 'Amr and 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Mabbūn were the most notable. The anecdotes told of his life of luxury, his gay parties and his romantic adventures are many. It is said that on one occasion, when his wife al-Rumaykiyya expressed to him the desire to imitate some Bedouin

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-Ibrar : 157.

2. Ibid : 158; al-Qabbī : Bughyat al-Multamis : 30.

3. Al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 71.

4. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 158; al-Maqqarī : Harf al-Iib 1 : 414.

5. Al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 71.

dairy women carrying jars and walking in the muddy streets, in no time al-Mu'tamid got the courtyard of the royal palace converted in to a pool filled with ambergris, musk, camphor and rose water.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Mu'tamid was the mightiest of all petty kings. The petty kings like Ibn Bādīs b. Habbūs of Granada, Ibn al-Aftas of Badajoz and Ibn Sa'ūdīh of Híryah enacted treaties with him and tried not to act against his wishes. At the same time all of them paid tributes to the Northern Christian ruler Alfonso(VI),<sup>3</sup> who now became a great threat to the Muslims in Spain. The Muslim kings who had made truce with the mighty christian ruler were now looking for help from the great Murābit ruler of North Africa Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn. "Al-Mu'tamid murdered the emissary of Alfonso, al-Yahūdīyya, who came to collect the tax from him and crossed the sea seeking the help of Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn."<sup>4</sup> When Ibn Tāshifīn entered Seville with a huge army, all the small Muslim kings joined hands with al-Mu'tamid and Ibn Tāshifīn<sup>5</sup> against their common enemy. When Alfonso became aware of these happenings he also got a huge army ready. The two armies met at Zallāqa, near Badajoz, on Friday, the 12th Rajab, 479/October

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1. Al-Maqqarī : Maḥā al-Tib 1 : 413.

2. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 153.

3. Al-Ḥabbī : Buḥyāt al-Multamīs : 31.

4. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 4 : 153.

5. Al-Ḥabbī : Buḥyāt al-Multamīs : 31.

23, 1086. The Muslims emerged victorious against the enemy whose strength was 40000 cavalry and one lakh soldiers. Only a very small group escaped. From this date Yūsuf b. Tāghrīn was called Amīr al-Mu'minīn.<sup>1</sup>

According to the previous agreement Yūsuf b. Tāghrīn returned to Morocco after achieving victory. But not long afterwards he came back to Spain and in Rajab, 483/November 1090 captured Girona and its ruler was driven to Aghmat. Then in Safar, 484 A.H. al-Mu'tamid's son, al-Manūn, al-Paṭṭ b. Muḥammad was defeated and Cordova was also captured. Al-Mu'tamid too was asked to surrender. Although he fought with great bravery but could not stop the fall of Seville in Rajab of the same year (September, 1091). Both the father and the son were sent to Aghmat where al-Mu'tamid died in captivity in 488/1095.<sup>2</sup> Thus the most brilliant of these petty dynasties came to an end and for the first time Spain saw the superiority of a Berber people, the Murābita.

#### THE MURABITA (ALMORAVIDES) IN SPAIN

The forefathers of the Murabita were Majūs who lived as nomads in the vast wastes of Sahrā. To begin with there was only 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, a Mālikite, who adopted Yahyā b. 'Umar, a leader of the Lantunah tribe, a branch of the Sanhājah tribe of North Africa, as his disciple, in order to launch the

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1. Al-Pabbā : Bughyat al-Multamīs : 31.

2. Ibid : 32; Ibn al-Khatīb : Tārīkh Isbāniyah 164 (Badrut.

Murābit movement as a religio-military brotherhood. This event took place in the middle of the 11th century A.D. (about 440 A.H.). The master and the disciple stayed in a monastery in a hillock, near the Nile, and propagated, as they claimed (the real Malikite Maḡḡbah. Very soon they could attract a thousand people and with their help the neighbouring tribes also joined hands with them one after another. Now these people, who began to collect taxes too, became a mighty religio-military brotherhood to whom very shortly the whole North Africa and Spain surrendered. The custom to wear veils gained to the Murābīṭa<sup>1</sup> (Almoravides) the name Mulaghṭhamīn (veil wearers) also.

As has been mentioned, the Almoravides entered Spain. Girona and Seville fell to Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, Almeria and Badajoz yielded to the Amir Sir, a relative of Yūsuf. Malāḡa also fell to them. After 492/1099 Valencia was captured by the Amir Maḡdālī. Only after the death of Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn the Moravides could occupy Saragossa in 503/1110.

So after subduing all the kings of Spain Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn became the undisputed ruler of North Africa and Spain. Morocco (Marrākush), founded by Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, was the capital of the Murābīṭ empire. In Spain Seville functioned as their subsidiary capital. The indisputable success of the Almoravide arms saw several decades of progress. But they could not

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibr 6 : 181-84 (Egypt, 1351 A.H.)

recapture Toledo. The Andalusian society in general was dominated by the Faqīhs during this period.

Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn died in 500/2 September 1106.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by his son 'Alī who continued his father's offensive policy. 'In the second year of his reign (501/1108) he killed the christian king (son of Alfonso VI) and got the country under his control. Then he crossed the sea for the second time and conquered Talavera. When he came to Spain for the third time he besieged Coimbra but could not capture it.<sup>2</sup>' In the meantime decadence had taken place in the night of the Almoravides and Alfonso I of Aragon had taken back Saragossa in 512/1118.

Christian pressure on al-Andalus increased and the Christians achieved greater success because 'Alī, threatened in Morocco itself by the Almohades, soon became incapable of suppressing the revolts which were raising their head on all sides. 'Alī b. Tāshifīn died in Rajab, 533/1143. His three short lived successors were no match to the situation. Thus the short lived Almoravide dynasty (1090-1147 A.D.) came to an end when the Almohades gained power.

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibār : 188; Ibn al-Khaṭīb : Tārīkh Isbāniyyah : 247.

2. Ibn al-Khaṭīb : Tārīkh Isbāniyyah : 247.

### THE MUWAHHIDS (ALMOHADES) IN SPAIN

Like the Murābit, the Muwahhid dynasty also originated from a politico-religious movement founded by Muḥammad b. Tūmārt (471-534/1078-1130) of the Berber tribe of Magrūbiyah.<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad preached pure tawḥīd (unity of God) as a protest against anthropomorphism then prevalent among his own and other wild tribes of Morocco. Thus Muḥammad came to be regarded as Maḥdī among them and his followers were known as Inna-ḥidūn. He led the life of an ascetic.

When Ibn Tūmārt died in 534/1130 his follower, 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī, of the Zanātah tribe, became founder - Caliph of the Muwahhid dynasty. After Ibn Tūmārt, 'Abd al-Mu'min continued to conquer the petty kingdoms one after another and the last province which he took from the hands of the Murābits was Marrākush.<sup>2</sup> This happened in 537 A.H. Marrākush continued to be the capital of the Almohades as it was of the Murābits.

The collapse of the Almoravid empire ushered in a second phase of petty kingdoms which began in 539/1144, a little before the death of Tāshifīn. Every where in al-Andalus the new kinglets swarmed. In 540/1145 'Abd al-Mu'min despatched to Spain an army which, in the course of five years, took possession of the whole of the Muslim part of the Peninsula. The

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 6 : 228, al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 128-29.

2. al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 145.

Balearic Islands alone remained for a few more years in the hands of the last representatives of the Murāwids. 'Abd al-Mu'min's determination to attack the christian kingdoms of Portugal, Leon, Castile and Aragon remained unfulfilled when he died at Rabāt in Jamādī al-thānī, 588/May, 1163. But in his time the whole coast of the Atlantic to the frontier of Egypt became united with Andalusiah as an independent empire.

'Abd al-Mu'min was succeeded by his son Yūsuf. He was a great king who moved to Spain and captured Murcia from Sa'd b. Mardanish and conquered the fort of Bilj from the Romans.<sup>1</sup> His reign was prosperous and the hands of his subjects were full of money. He was well-versed in all branches of Arabic literature and had surrounded himself with men of letters, physicians and philosophers.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Tufayl and Ibn Bājja, two great philosophers of Islam flourished in his court.<sup>3</sup> He died on 28th Rabi' al-thānī, 590/1184.<sup>4</sup>

His son Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr succeeded him. He was a noble, cultured and pious king. He regained Majorca and defeated Alfonso VIII the king of Castile, in the great battle of al-Arak (591/1196) which he fought against him. The total

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1. Ibn al-Khaṭīb : Tārīkh Isbāniyyah : 269.
  2. Al-Marrākushī : al-Mu'jib : 170.
  3. Ibid., 172.
  4. Ibn al-Khaṭīb : Tārīkh Isbāniyyah : 269.

number of persons killed in this battle was said to be 30,000. Al-Hanṣālī died in Rabi' al-awwal, 395/1199<sup>1</sup>. He was an admirer of Ibn Ḥazm and his Ṭahiri doctrine. He declared war against the Malikiite faith. Ibn Fuṣṣal also gained his favour.

He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad al-Hanṣālī. Spain in his days encountered increased threat from the christians. In the disastrous battle fought with Alfonso VIII at al-'Uqūb, a place seventy miles east of Cordova, in the middle of safar, 609 A.H., the army of Muḥammad faced its greatest defeat. After this defeat the Almohades were completely extinguished from Spain. Muḥammad returned to al-Marrākush and died there in Sha'bān, 610/1214 and no Muḥammīd ruler entered Spain after him.<sup>3</sup>

Gradually the whole Spain came under the control of the Christian encroachers and the local Muslim dynasties. Among the Muslim dynasties the Nasrids of Granada were the most conspicuous and became the last representatives of the Muslims in Spain.

#### THE NASRID KINGDOM OF GRANADA

At the collapse of the Almohades in Spain, two influential families, the Banū Mardānīsh in Valencia and Banū Ḥūd in

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1. Ibn al-Khaṭīb : Tārīkh Isbāniyyah : 269.
  2. Ibid : 270; al-Marrākushī : <sup>al-Mu'jib:</sup> 236-37.
  3. Ibn al-Khaṭīb : Tārīkh Isbāniyyah : 270.



Murcia, carved out for themselves small principalities in the east of the Peninsula. At the same time in Arjona, north of Jaen, Muhammad b. Yūsuf b. Ahmad b. Saqr, belonging to the Banū Aḥmar, proclaimed himself ruler in 629/1231. But only the latter could survive for a long period. Muhammad very soon obtained the support of his own family as well as of the neighbouring tribes like Jaen, Guadix and Baza. In the year 635/1237-38 he captured Granada and made it the capital of the Ḥagrides. In the following year he conquered Malaga and Almeria also. But he could conquer the little town of Lorca only in 663/1264-65. His kingdom, which was known as "the kingdom of Granada", was now the only territory in the Peninsula ruled by a Muslim prince. "Bounded by the Mediterranean from the straits of Gibraltar to Almeria this kingdom did not go farther inland than the mountains of the Serrania de Ronda and the Sierra d'Elvira.<sup>1</sup>" The names of the Ḥagrid rulers are as follows:<sup>2</sup>

1. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad I al-Qālib Allāh : 629-671/  
1232-1273.
2. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad II b. Muhammad I, al-Faqlīh: 671-  
701/1273-1302.
3. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad III b. Muhammad II, al-Makhlū':  
701-708/1302-1309.

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 878 (Liden, 1936 A.D.).
  2. Ibid; Ahmad Amin : Zubr al-Islām 3 : 320.

4. Abū 'Al Juyūsh Naṣr b. Muḥammad II : 708-713/1309-1314.
5. Abū 'Al Walīd Ismā'īl I b. Farq : 713-725/1314-1326.
6. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad IV b. Ismā'īl : 725-733/1325-1333.
7. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf I b. Ismā'īl, al-Mu'ayyad Billāh : 733-755/1333-1354.
8. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad V b. Yūsuf, al-Ḥanī Billāh : 755-760/1354-1369.
9. Abū al-Walīd Ismā'īl II : 760-761/1369-1360.
10. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad VI b. Ismā'īl : 761-763/1360-1362.
11. Muḥammad V (Second time) : 763-793/1362-1391.
12. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf II b. Muḥammad V, al-Mustaghni Billāh : 793-794/1391-1392.
13. Muḥammad VII b. Yūsuf II : 794-810/1392-1408.
14. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf III b. Yūsuf II, al-Nāṣir II Billāh : 810-820/1408-1417.
15. Muḥammad VIII b. Yūsuf III, al-Aṣar : 820-831/1417-1427.
16. Muḥammad IX b. Naṣr, al-Saghīr : 831-833/1427-1429.
17. Muḥammad VII (Second time) : 833-835/1429-1432.
18. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf IV b. Muḥammad VII : 835/1432.
19. Muḥammad VIII (Third time) : 835-847/1432-1443.
20. Muḥammad X al-Aḥnaf b. 'Uthmān : 847-849/1443-1447.
21. Sa'd b. 'Alī : 849-850/1447-1448.
22. Muḥammad X (Second Time) : 850-857/1448-1453.
23. Sa'd (Second time) : 857-858/1453-1455.
24. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sa'd : 858-857/1455-1452.
25. Muḥammad XI b. 'Alī : 857-858/1452-1453.
26. 'Alī (Second time) : 858-859/1453-1455.

27. Muhammad XII, al-Zaghall : 890-892/1493-1497.

28. Muhammad XI : 892-897/1487-1491.

The Nasrid dynasty held the christians at bay for two centuries and a half. This last bloom of the Arabic culture in Europe renewed the glorious memories of Cordova and Seville. In this period was erected the world renowned 'Red Palace' (al-Hamra'). The names of Ibn al-Khatib and Ibn al-Baldun represent the highest literary accomplishment and historical comprehension of which this period may be rightly proved.

The last Nasrid kings were no match to the increasing might of the neighbouring christian rulers. The marriage in 870/1469 of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile, uniting their kingdoms permanently, struck the note of doom for Muslim power in Spain. Only the city of Granada remained in the hands of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad, the last king of the Nasrids. His refusal to comply with the request of Ferdinand to surrender the city proved futile as the castilians entered Granada forcefully on 2nd Rabi' al-awwal, 897/January 2nd, 1492.

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## CHAPTER II

### ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY IN ARABIC

History is one of the earliest disciplines cultivated by the Muslims. To the pre-Islamic Arabia historiography as such was unknown. The battle-day-narratives and genealogical lore were transmitted orally by the Arabs. The traditions of the Prophet, which means his sayings and doings, compiled after his death, may be considered as the beginning of Muslim historiography. After the Prophet the necessity of preserving the record of his life for the posterity was felt by his companions and their followers (al-tābi'ūn). Hence the preservation and compilation of his traditions was undertaken by them. Religious sciences like Hadīth and Fiqh had their origin in the Qur'ān. In the same manner geography and history owe their origin to the Qur'ān. The only difference is that religious sciences are related to the Qur'ān directly while secular sciences mentioned above are related to it indirectly. In the Qur'ān we get many historical narratives of the yore whose main purpose is to teach some moral lesson. As people wanted to get more information about these historical events, they paid special attention to learn history.

The biography of the Prophet, particularly the account of the wars fought by him (maghāzī), comprised the earliest

historical literature in Arabic. The method of writing these biographies was the same as that of transmitting traditions, i.e. quoting the chain of narrators till the time of the Prophet himself. According to Ahmad Amin<sup>1</sup> the most outstanding among these biographers are the following: (1) Abūn b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān of Madīnah (d. 105 A.H.); (2) 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awām of Madīnah (d. 98 A.H.); (3) Shurayb b. Sa'd of Madīnah (d. 123 A.H.); (4) Wabb b. Munabbih of Yamen (d. 110 A.H.); (5) Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri of Makkah (d. 124 A.H.); (6) 'Asim b. 'Amr b. Qatādah of Madīnah (d. 120 A.H.) (7) 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Hamm of Madīnah (d. 135 A.H.); (8) Mūsā b. 'Uqbah (d. 141 A.H.); (9) Mu'ammār b. Rāshid (d. 150 A.H.); (10) Ibn Ishāq (d. 152 A.H.); (11) Zayyāt al-Bakrī (d. 183 A.H.); (12) Ibn Hishām (d. 218 A.H.) (13) Al-Wāqidī (d. 207 A.H.) and (14) Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 A.H.). But only the writings of the last seven historians have come down to us. Even then the works of Mūsā b. 'Uqbah, Mu'ammār b. Rāshid, Ibn Ishāq, Zayyāt al-Bakrī are not available in their complete form; only certain extracts from their writings have been quoted by the later historians like Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, Al-Wāqidī and Al-Tabarī in their works. Ibn Hishām became famous by his *Sīrah* of the Prophet. 'From the pen of Ibn Sa'd, who died in Baghdad in 845 and is known as the secretary of al-Wāqidī, we

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1. Ahmad Amin : *publ al-Islām* 2 : 320 (Cairo, 1964).

have the first great book of classified biographies containing sketches of the lives of the Prophet, the companions and their successors (al-tāhī'ūn) down to his own time.<sup>1</sup> Al-Wāqidī stands out as a great figure in this field.

AL-WĀQIDĪ, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Wāqid al-Aslamī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, one of the oldest historians of Islām was born in Madīnah in 130/747.<sup>2</sup> He studied under Ibn Abī Dhī'b, Umar b. Rāshid, Malik b. Anas, Muḥammad b. 'Ajlān, Rabī'ah b. 'Uthmān, Ibn Jurayj, Sufyān al-Thawrī and others.<sup>3</sup> In 180 A.H. he went to Baghdād and then to Syria and again returned to Baghdād and stayed there till Ma'mūn returned from Khurāsān and appointed him as qāḍī of 'Askar al-Mahdī which post he continued to hold till his death in 307/833.<sup>4</sup> Yāqūt says<sup>5</sup> that before his appointment by al-Ma'mūn, al-Wāqidī was appointed by Hārūn al-Rashīd as qāḍī of eastern Baghdād. He was<sup>6</sup> reputed for his generosity, nobility and liberality. It is

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1. P.K.Hitti : History of the Arabs : 388 (Hongkong, 1977).
  2. Al-Baghdādī : Ta'rīkh Baghdād 3 : 4; Yāqūt : Irshād al-'Arīb 7:58 (Egypt, 1925); Al-Zirkillī : Al-A'lām 7:200.
  3. Al-Baghdādī : Ta'rīkh Baghdād 3:3; Yāqūt : Irshād al-'Arīb 7:58.
  4. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī : Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb 9:366 (Hyderabad, Deccan, 1326 A.H.); al-Baghdādī : Ta'rīkh Baghdād al-Zirkillī : Al-A'lām 7:200.
  5. Yāqūt : Irshād al-'Arīb 7:58.
  6. Ibn Hajar : Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb 9:366; Al-Baghdādī : Ta'rīkh Baghdād 3:3.

said that al-Māqīdī has narrated thirty thousand traditions not narrated by anyone else and was well versed in *maghānī*, *siyar*, history, account of the ancient wars, jurisprudence, <sup>1</sup> *tafsīr*, and such other subjects. He was known as *Asn* (trustee) of the people with regard to Islam and the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (leader of the believers) in *Hadīth*.<sup>2</sup> In different fields of knowledge he has contributed the following books: *Kitāb al-Ikhtilāf*, *Kitāb Ghalaṭ al-Hadīth*, *Kitāb al-Sunnah wa'l-Jamā'ah wa-l-ḥikmah al-Hawā*, *Kitāb Akhbar al-Qur'ān*, *Kitāb al-Adāb* and *Kitāb al-Tarḡīb fī 'Ilm al-Qur'ān*.<sup>3</sup>

In history alone he has 35 works to his credit. They are:<sup>4</sup> (1) *Kitāb al-Maghānī* (3 vols); (2) *Futūḥ al-Ḥijāz* (2 vols); (3) *Futūḥ al-ʿIrāqiyah* (2 vols.); (4) *Futūḥ al-ʿAjam*; (5) *Futūḥ al-Miṣr*; (6) *Akhbar Makkah*; (7) *al-Ṭabaqāt*; (8) *Futūḥ al-ʿIrāq*; (9) *Sīrah Abī Bakr wa waṣatuh*; (10) *Taʾrīkh al-Fuṣṭāṭ*; (11) *Kitāb al-Jamāʿ*; (12) *Kitāb al-Sifṭīn*; (13) *Kitāb al-Manākiḥ*; (14) *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*; (15) *Ḍarb al-Danānīr wa'l-Darāhim*; (16) *al-Sīrah*; (17) *Aswāj al-Nahā*; (18) *al-Fiddah wa'l-Dār*; (19) *Ḥarb al-Aws wa'l-Khazraj*; (20) *al-Saqīfah wa'l-Bay'ah*

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1. Yāqūt : *Irshād al-ʿArīb* 7 : 55.

2. Ibid., Ibn Hajar et : *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* 9 : 335.

3. Yāqūt : *Irshād al-ʿArīb* 7 : 55.

4. Yāqūt: *Irshād al-ʿArīb* 7 : 55; *al-Zirkālī* : *al-Aʿlām* 7:200-201; *Encyclopaedia of Islām* 4 : 1104.

Abī Bakr; (21) Marā'ī Quraysh wa'l Anṣār fil-qatā' wa Maq' 'Umar al-Dawādīn wa-Taṣarīf al-ṭabā'īl wa marātibihā wa Ansābihā; (22) Muwīd al-Ḥasan wa'l Ḥusayn; (23) Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr; (24) Amr al-Ḥaḡḡah wa'l Fil and (25) Maḡāt al-Nabī.

Out of these works only the first five have been published so far. The Kitāb al-Ḥaḡḡah consists of the annals of the conquest of Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Africa by the Arabs.

A criticism against al-Wāqidī is that he has not mentioned among his authorities 'his most celebrated predecessor, 'Muḥammad b. Ishāq', whom he had obviously made use of. He possibly wished to conceal his indebtedness to him by not mentioning his name.<sup>1</sup> Al-Wāqidī's works display his strong interest in Ḥadīth and Fiqh. But his chief merit lies in his transmission of a huge amount of historical material and in fixing its chronology. Muslim scholars recognise him as an authority in the field of history.<sup>2</sup> Al-Wāqidī's inclination towards writing more about the Prophet and his near relatives was considered to be due to his shī'ite attitude.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islām, 4 : 1104.

2. Ibid. : 1103.

3. Ibid.



After the death of the Prophet many nations and people having different cultures came under the fold of Islam with the efforts of his companions and followers. With the passage of time many a minor as well as major political, religious, social, cultural and literary development took place among these Muslims. All these developments have been recorded in history by the Muslims themselves. But many of these historical works have been lost due to the destruction caused by the dynastic and other wars between the Muslims as well as between them and certain other communities. As for example, the literature produced during the rule of the Umayyads was destroyed when the 'Abbasids took over power. Due to these losses it is not possible to get a complete picture of the progress made by the Muslims in the field of historiography during the early days. Even then we possess information about innumerable historical works written by the Muslim historians.

When the question of the fixation of tax (kharāj) arose there was difference of opinion which nation was conquered by force and which was conquered peacefully. So it necessitated the writing of history on the conquests by the Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Wāqidī is a well known historian in this field. The titles of his works have already been mentioned. The other notable

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1. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rīkh Adab al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah 2:149;  
Ahmad Amin : Duḥā al-Islām 2:339.

historians in this field are:

(1) Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusayn b. Yaqūb b. Sa'īd b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sulaym al-Andī (d. 157 A.H.). There are 33 works to his credit. All these works, except one, are on the history of Islām. Among his works are included: (i) Kitāb al-Riddah; (ii) Kitāb Futūḥ al-Ḥam; (iii) Kitāb Futūḥ al-'Irāq; (iv) Kitāb al-Jamal; (v) Kitāb al-Saffīn and (vi) Kitāb Maqāt al-'Alī.

(2) Sayf b. 'Amr al-Kūfī al-Asadī al-Tamīmī (d. after 170 A.H.). Among his works are included: Kitāb al-Futūḥ al-Kabīr wa-al-Riddah and Kitāb al-Jamal wa-Maḥār 'Ā'ishah wa 'Alī.

(3) 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Mada'inī (d. 225 A.H.). He lived in al-Mada'in and then went to Baghdād and stayed there until his death. He has written 239 books in the field of literature and history but all of them have been lost. In the field of history he has written on al-Maghāzī, Sīrah of the Prophet, history of the Caliphs and Muslim conquests.

(4) al-Zubayr b. Bakr (d. 236 A.H.) belongs to the progeny of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. He has written 31 works in the field of literature and history. Among them is included Ansāb Quraysh.

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1. Ahmad Amīn : Duḥā al-Islām 2 : 341-2.

2. Ibid: 343.

3. Ibid : 343-4; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 5:140.

4. Ibn Khallikān : Wafayāt al-A'yān 2:68; Ahmad Amīn : Duḥā al-Islām 2:343.

(5) 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257 A.H.) of Egypt. His great work in this field is *Futūḥ Miṣr w al-Maghrib w-al-Andalus*.<sup>1</sup>

(6) Abū Ja'far Ahmad b. Yahyā b. Jābir al-Balādhurī (d. 279 A.H.). The well known work by him in this field is *Futūḥ al-Buldan*.

### G E N E A L O G Y

The third field in which the early Muslim historians excelled was genealogy. The Arabs lived in tribes; each tribe considered itself as an independent body and the individual was considered only to be a part of the tribe having no independent identity of his own. The merit and defect of the individual was ascribed to the particular tribe to which he belonged. Each tribe tried to preserve its past glory and genealogy with great pride. Islam, on the other hand, tried to replace it by religious brotherhood. Though it succeeded in this effort in the beginning but after sometime the tribal feelings rose their head again. This led historians to pay attention to genealogy and write books in this branch of historiography. The notable historians in this field are:

(1) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763), a learned man of al-Kūfah. He has actually written a commentary on the

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1. Al-Zirkālī : al-a'lān 4 : 23.

Qur'an. But in it he has given special importance to the genealogy and history of the ancient Arabs.

(2) **Ḥishām al-Kalbī**, son of the previous author. He was born in al-Kūfah, lived in Baghād for a long time and died in 204/819. He has written about 140 books. Among them are included the following:

- (i) **Kitāb al-Nasab al-Kabīr** or **Jamharah al-Ansāb**, containing the genealogies of the noble Arab clans like al-'Adnān and al-Qaṭān.
- (ii) **Nasab Fuṣṭā al-Khayl fī Jahiliyyah wa'l Islām.**
- (iii) **Kitāb al-Farīd** on genealogy.
- (iv) **Kitāb al-Mulūkī**, on genealogy.
- (v) **Kitāb al-Asnām** or **Tankīs al-Asnām** and
- (vi) **Kitāb al-Majhālīb al-'Arab.**

(3) **Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh b. Thābit b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr** (d. 233/848). He has written the **Kitāb al-Jamharah fī Nasab Quraysh.**

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1. Brockelmann : **Ta'rikh al-Adab al-'Arabī** 3:30 (Egypt, 1902).
  2. Ibid., **Aḥmad Amīn : Duḥā al-Islām** 2:349.
  3. **Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rikh Adab al-Lughah al-'Arabiyah** 2:162; **Aḥmad Amīn : Duḥā al-Islām** 2:348-49.
  4. Brockelmann : **Ta'rikh al-Adab al-'Arabī** 3:33.

(4) Abu'l Hasan Muhammad b. Abī Ja'far from the progeny of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. He has written 'al-Kāmil fī Masab <sup>1</sup> Abī Tālib' in the fourth century of Hijrah.

(5) AL-BALĀDHURI, Abu'l Hasan Ahmad b. Yahyā b. Jābir b. Dāwūd al-Baghdādī was born at the end of the second century of Hijrah and grew up in Baghdad. <sup>2</sup> He received his education in Damascus under Hishām b. 'Ammār and Abū Hafs 'Umar b. Sa'īd, in Hims under Muhammad b. Musarī, in Ankoob under Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Saḥm and Ahmad b. Mard al-Antakī and in 'Irāq under 'Affān b. Muslim, 'Abd al-A'īn b. Hammād, 'Alī b. al-Madīnī and others. He also visited Halab, al-Thughūr and the northern part of Syria. <sup>4</sup> He was attached to the 'Abbāsid courts of al-Mutawakkil and al-Musta'īn. <sup>5</sup> He died in the later period of the rule of al-Mu'tamid. <sup>6</sup> It is also said that he died in the year 279/892 and was mentally deranged in the later <sup>7</sup>

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1. Brockelmann : Ta'rikh al-Adab al-'Arabī 3 : 33.

2. Al-Balādhurī : Futūb al-Buldān (Introduction by the editor) 1:6.

3. Ibid:8; Yāqūt Irghād al-'Arīb 2:127; Encyclopaedia of Islām 1:971 (1960).

4. Al-Balādhurī : Futūb al-Buldān 1:6.

5. Al-Zirkillī : al-A'īn 1:232.

6. Yāqūt : Irghād al-'Arīb 2:127; Ibn Majar al-'Asqalanī : Lisān al-Hisn 1:232 (Hyderabad 1329-40)

7. Al-Zirkillī : Al-A'īn 1:252.

and memory, and this earned him the name al-Balādhurī<sup>1</sup>. Yāqūt, who mentions this story, is not sure whether it was Jābir b. Sūd or his grandfather Jābir, secretary<sup>2</sup> al-Khaṣīb in Egypt who used the balādhur.<sup>3</sup> Balādhur<sup>4</sup> was a historian, geographer, genealogist and poet. His works are:

- (1) 'Ahd Ardashīr, a translation from Persian to Arabic.
- (11) Futūḥ al-Buldān.
- (111) al-Jarābah wa Ta'rīkh al-Aghraf, also known by the name Ansāb al-Aghraf; and
- (1V) Kitāb al-Buldān al-Kabīr. It was not completed by the author.

In the introduction of Futūḥ al-Buldān it has been written by Ridwān Muḥammad Ridwān that some noble historians have said that just before his death he (al-Balādhurī) had collected much useful material for the compilation of a work in forty volumes.<sup>5</sup>

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- 1. Yāqūt : Irshād al-'Arīb 2:127; Ibn Hajar : Lisān al-Misnā 1:323.
  - 2. Yāqūt : Irshād al-'Arīb 2:127.
  - 3. Al-Ziriklī : al-'Ilm 1:252.
  - 4. Ibid ; al-Balādhurī : Futūḥ al-Buldān (Introduction) 1:9-10.
  - 5. Al-Balādhurī : Futūḥ al-Buldān 1:10.

Among these works only the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* and the *Anṣab al-Ashraf* have been published. About *Futūḥ al-Buldān* it is said that it 'is the short version of a more comprehensive work on the same subject.'<sup>1</sup> The work begins with the wars of the Prophet and is followed by the accounts of Riddah, the conquests of Syria, the Jazīrah, Armenia, Egypt, Maghrib, Spain and lastly the occupation of 'Iraq and Persia. It also contains the account of the conquest of Sind and Multan by Muḥammad b. al-Qasim. The 1377/1957 Beirut edition of this work, in 768 pages, is divided in to five parts.

The *Anṣab al-Ashraf* is a large work in five bulky volumes. This is the genealogy of the members of the noble Arab families such as the 'Abbasids, 'Abd Shams, Banu Hāshim, Quraysh, Qays, Thaqlif etc. It starts with the life of the Prophet and the biographies of his kinsmen and ends with the biography of al-Hājjāj. About this work it is said that : 'the *Anṣab* is not merely a genealogical and biographical record; it provides within the biographies of the caliphs a continuous account of the history of their times.'<sup>2</sup> In the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* it is written: Though a genealogical work in outward form, the *Anṣab* are really *ṭabaqāt* in the style of Ibn Sa'd.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, 1:971.

2. Al-Balādhurī : *Anṣab al-Ashraf* (Introduction by the editor) 5:14 (University Press, Jerusalem 1936).

3. *Encyclopaedia of Islām* 1:971.

As soon as Islam spread beyond the boundaries of the Arabian Peninsula it became unpracticable to write the history of different peoples according to the genealogical arrangement. Still in North Africa and Spain it prevailed to a certain extent. The Spaniard, Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Fāsi, was a notable figure in this field. In the East it became the business of only those personally interested in it : the rulers, members of the Arab families, 'Alids and some historians who were interested in the history of the Quraysh or in the history of Arab tribes who had settled in their particular part of the world in the early years of the Muslim conquest. However, genealogy had only a little influence on the various forms of Muslim historical writing.

When the Arabs themselves entered the historical era and their own kingdom was established, it became possible for them to pay attention to history in the real sense. The time was now ripe for formal historical composition. The development which took place afterwards can be classified broadly in to three categories:

- (a) The history of other nations, like Persia and Rome and world history;
- (b) Regional or Local history and
- (c) Biography.

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1. Brockelmann : Ta'riḥ al-Adab al-'Arabī 3:7.



(a) History of other nations and world history:

Though history writing began during the Umayyad period, the historians of this period were mainly interested in two things: to extol their patrons or to trace their genealogies. The historiography in its real sense commenced only during the first century of the 'Abbasid rule. The historians of this period paved the way for the compilation of universal or local histories and during the following centuries the actual work<sup>1</sup> in this field was done.

When the Caliphs conquered other countries some of them wanted to know the history of those nations either to satisfy their curiosity or to study how their affairs could be dealt with properly. For instance, it was in the daily routine of Mu'awiyah to listen to the history of the Arabs and of their wars as well as of the non-Arab kings and their political affairs. The second reason to write this type of history was that the second generation of those non-Arabs who had embraced Islam became well versed in Arabic language and began to translate the history of their nation into Arabic out of national pride. 'Khudāy Nāmah' (the book of kings), a history of the Persians from the beginning till the Muslim conquest, translated from Persian into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 757 A.D.) under

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1. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah 2:149.

the title 'Siyar Muḥḥ al-'Ajam', was the first work of this category. Like the Persians the people of Syria translated their history as well as that of the Greeks into Arabic. Due to these translations the Arabs got inspiration to study more than one language and to get the history of other peoples translated into Arabic.<sup>1</sup> A third reason for writing world history was, as has already been mentioned, to know in greater detail about the historical narratives given in the Qur'ān.

When the Arabs began to write the history of the world on a large scale they used mainly two forms : annalistic and dynastic. In the annalistic form all the incidents which occurred in a particular year were mentioned separately one after the other under the title 'In the year.....' Two events of the same year were connected by inserting the phrase 'wa fīhā' (and in it) in between them. The great historians who used this form of history writing are al-Muqaddī, al-Ṭabarī, Miskawayh, Ibn al-Aṭṭār, Abu'l Fida' and al-Dhahabī. A defect of this form is that it does not allow a consecutive report about an event which extends over a period of years. Due to this many Arab historians like al-Is'qabī found the dynastic form of arrangement of history more practical. In this form the reign of each ruler is dealt with separately.

During the 'Abbāsid and the Mongol periods there were many historians who wrote world histories. Among them are

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1. Ahmad Amin : *ḍuḥ al-Islām* 2:350-6.

included Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Dīnawarī, known as Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276 A.H.), who wrote 'Kitāb al-Ma'ārif', and his contemporary Abū Ḥanīfah Ahmad b. Da'ūd al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/293) who wrote al-Akḥḥār al-Tiwalī, a universal history. The geographer and historian Ahmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Waḥīb, known as al-Ya'qūbī, who wrote Ta'rīkh al-Ya'qūbī, Artāghūs Sa'īd b. al-Bitriq (d. 328 A.H.) who wrote a universal history from Adam to the year 321 A.H. under the title 'Ḥaṣṣ al-Jawhar' and Ḥammāh b. Ḥasun al-Isfahānī (d. 350 A.H.) who wrote 'Kitāb Ta'rīkh sinī Muḥk al-Arḡ u-al-anbiyā' also belong to this group. Another great historian of Persian stock was Abū 'Alī al-Khāzin b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, known as Miskawayh (d. 421 A.H.), who held a high office in the court of the Buyyid 'Aḍḍ al-Dawlah. He was as famous in the fields of logic, philosophy and chemistry as he was in the fields of literature, jurisprudence and history. His well known universal history 'Kitāb Tajrīb al-Imam' starts from the creation of the world and ends in the year 369/979-80. Among his works in the other fields are included: (i) Kitāb Iḥḥ al-'Arab u-al-Furus; (ii) Kitāb Tahḥīb al-Aḥlāq and (iii) al-Furū al-Aḡḡar, a philosophical work.

Some great historians belonging to this category are the following:

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1. Jurjī Zaydī : Ta'rīkh Iḥḥ al-Lughah al-'Arabiyah 2:319-20.

(1) **AL-TABARĪ**, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yaḥyā b. Kaṭṭāb b. Ghālib, was born in the end of 224 or beginning of 225 A.H. at Āmul in Tabaristān.<sup>1</sup> In search of knowledge he travelled to Baghdād, Egypt, Syria and 'Irāq. Later he settled in Baghdād teaching Hadīth and Fiqh and died there in 310 A.H.<sup>2</sup> He was a follower of the Shafi'ī school of thought in jurisprudence and later founded a school of his own. He was one of the greatest historians of Islām.

There are 23 titles of works to the credit of al-Tabarī. Among them are,<sup>3</sup> (i) Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān; (ii) Ta'rīkh al-Rusul w-al-Mulūk and (iii) Kitāb al-Aḥyā' al-Muḥayyā', a history of the companions and the followers of the Prophet.

His most important work is his history of the world (Ta'rīkh al-Rusul w-al-Mulūk).<sup>4</sup> He begins this work with a discussion of 'the time.' Then he discusses the topics such as the creation of the world, its duration, creation of Ādam and

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1. Al-Ḥakīmī : Taḥkīrāt al-Buḥārā 2:710; Ibn Kaṭṭāb: al-Bidāyah w-al-Nihāyah 11:145; al-Baghdādī : Ta'rīkh Baghdād 2:166.
  2. Ibn Kaṭṭāb : al-Bidāyah w-al-Nihāyah 11:147; Jurjī Zaydān: Ta'rīkh Aḥb al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah 2:202.
  3. Yāqūt : Irshād al-'Arab 6:423.
  4. Encyclopaedia of Islām 4:572.

Here, their coming to earth, the history of the prophets and rulers after Ādam and then comes to the history of the Sasanian period and the period of the Prophet of Islām and the first four caliphs, the history of the Umayyads and lastly the history of the Abbāsids upto his own time. From the beginning of the Hijrah era onwards the material has been arranged annalistically according to this calendar.

(2) AL-MAS'ŪDĪ, Abu'l Hasan 'Alī b. al-Husain b. 'Alī, from the progeny of 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, the companion of the Prophet,<sup>1</sup> was born in Bābul.<sup>2</sup> He was a great Arab historian and traveller. He grew up in Baghdād and stayed there for a long period.<sup>3</sup> In Egypt he stayed even for a longer period and died there in 346 A.E.<sup>4</sup>

Thirty four titles of his works are known to us. Out of them only al-Ithbāt al-Mas'ūdiyyah; Akhbār al-Zamān (Part I); al-Tanbīh w-al-Ighrāf and Murūj al-Dhahab have been published so far.

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1. Yāqūt : Irghād al-'Arīb 5:147; Al-Subkī : Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah 2:307.
  2. Al-Mas'ūdī : Ithbāt al-Mas'ūdiyyah (Introduction):3 (1955 A.D.).
  3. Al-Subkī : Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah 2:307.
  4. Yāqūt : Irghād al-'Arīb 5:147; Al-Zirkilī : Al-A'lām 5:87.

**Al-Fanbāh w-al-Ishrāf'** is a history of the world upto the year 345 A.H. His **Murūj al-Dhahab** earned al-Mas'ūdī fame as a great historian. This is also a world history upto his own time. The 1346 A.H. Egyptian edition of this work is in two volumes of 443 and 575 pages.

Al-Mas'ūdī's approach to his task was original-even eccentric. He made no attempt to write a methodical history and gave as much weight to social, economic and cultural matters as to politics.<sup>1</sup>

(3) **IBN AL-ATHIR**, 'Ism al-Dīn Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Wahid al-Shaybānī al-Jamrī was born in 555 A.H. in the Jamrah Ibn 'Umar and later settled in al-Muwail and died there in 630 A.H. He also travelled to Baghdad, Syria and Jerusalem.

His fame as a great historian rests on his great history of the world, '**al-Kāmil fi'l Ta'rīkh**.' It contains the history of the world from its creation till the year 628 A.H. Among his works are included : (1) **Ud al-Dhahab fi Ma'rifa al-Safābah**;

1. Encyclopaedia Britanica 11:610 (U.S.A., 1977).

2. Ibn Khallikān : **Wafayāt al-A'yān** 3:33 (Egypt, 1948); Ahmad b. Mustafā Tāsh Kubāī **Zādat Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah** 1:206-207 (Hyderabad), 1328 A.H.).

3. Ibn Khallikān : **Wafayāt al-A'yān** 3:33; Jurjī Zaydān: **Ta'rīkh Adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah** 3:87.

4. Jurjī Zaydān: **Ta'rīkh Adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah** 3:87.

(ii) Ta'rikh al-Dihār fī Dawlah al-Atābiyyah; (iii) al-Lubāb fī Taḥṣīb al-Ansāb and (iv) Tuḥfat al-'Ajā'ib wa-Turfaḥ al-Ḥarā'ib fī'l Ta'rikh.

(4) ABU'L FIDĀ, Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd b. al-Muḥṣin Muḥammad b. al-Muṣaffar Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar b. Nūr al-Dīn Shāhshāh b. Ayyūb, a Syrian Prince, historian and geographer<sup>1</sup> of the family of the Ayyubids was born in Damascus in 672 A.H. He died in 732 A.H.<sup>2</sup>

His famous work is a universal history entitled 'al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Baḥar.' He begins the history from Ādam and proceeds to include in it the annals of all the prophets and the ancient nations such as Persians and Romans who flourished before Islām. In the Islamic period the historical events till the year 729 A.H. have been covered.

His other books are (i) Taqīm al-Ulūm; (ii) al-Kamāsh, a book on grammar (iii) al-Mawāḍi' and (iv) Maḥādir al-'Ilm.<sup>3</sup>

1. Ibn Taghribirdī: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah 9 : 292 (Cairo, 1353/1935); Al-Kutubī : Fuwāt al-wafayāt 1 : 28.
2. Ibn Ḥajr al-'Asqalānī : al-Durar al-Kāminah 1:371 (Hyderabad, 1348 A.H.); al-Zirkilī; al-A'lām 1:317.
3. Al-Kutubī : Fuwāt al-wafayāt 1:28; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 1:317.

(b) Local Histories:

Writing of local history is always the result of the attachment to the place where a historian is born. Though a good number of early local histories were written due to religious and political reasons also, the local pride was always the main reason behind their compilation.

A merit of the local history is that the writer is free to include in it a greater variety of subjects according to his choice.

Rosenthal says: "Though it was influenced in later periods by theological, local and cultural considerations, Muslim local historiography had its origin as a part of general <sup>1</sup> historiography."

Jurjī Zaydān says that local history writing originated even before the rise of Islām. According to al-Mas'ūdī, 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ubbādī had compiled a history of al-Rūm and al-Mas'ūdī<sup>2</sup> himself benefitted from this work. But actually local histories were written on a large scale only when the 'Abbāsid glory had diminished and the regional pride had arisen. Among the places about which many historical works were written are al-Yaman, Makkah, Madīnah, Egypt, Syria, 'Irāq and Spain.

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1. Rosenthal : A History of Muslim Historiography : 132.

2. Brockelmann : Ta'rīkh al-Adāb al-'Arabī 3:85.



Among the early works written about al-Yaman are included, *Sīrah al-Imām al-Hādī* by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Alawī and *Ta'riḥ al-Imām al-Manṣūr* Allāh Abī Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Rasī' by al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad b. Ya'qūb. Both these historians flourished in the 3rd century A.H. Among the later historians who wrote the history of al-Yaman Najm al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad 'Imrān b. Abī al-Ḥasan (d. 569 A.H.), Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Baqī b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Makkī (d. 743 A.H.) and Abu'l Ḥasan al-Khasraji (d. 812 A.H.) are noteworthy.

'Kitāb Akhbār Ayyām Makkah' by Abu'l Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad al-Astraqī (d. 223 A.H.) was the first work written on the history of Makkah. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-'Abbās al-Makkī al-Fākimī (d. 272 A.H.), al-Qādī Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Fāsi (d. 832 A.H.) whose work is *Shifā' al-Gharām bi Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām* and al-Maqrīzī, who wrote *al-Ishārah w-al-'Ilām bi-Hinā' al-Ka'bah al-Bayt al-Ḥarām*, are among the other historians who wrote about Makkah.

'Akhbār al-Madīnah' by Ibn Zabālah, Yahyā al-'Abīdī and 'Umar b. Shībah (d. 162 A.H.), *al-Durrab al-Iḥmīnah fī Akhbār al-Madīnah* by Ibn al-Hajjār (d. 643 A.H.) and *Ta'riḥ al-Madīnah*

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1. Jurjī Zaydān : *Ta'riḥ Adab al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah* 2:200;  
Ḥājī Khalīlah : *Kashf al-Zunūn* 1:306.
  2. Ḥājī Khalīlah : *Kashf al-Zunūn* 1:306-307.

by Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh al-Marjānī are among the works written about Madīnah.

Among the historians who wrote about al-'Irāq are Ibn al-Jū'ī, Ibn Isfandiyār and al-Haytham b. 'Adī (d. 207 A.H.) who wrote 'Tarīkh 'Ummā al-Sharṭ li-'Ummā' al-'Irāq. <sup>1</sup> Ahmad b. Tayfur Abī Tāhār al-Khwarāsmī (d. 280 A.H.), who wrote 'Ta'rīkh Baghdād', and Abū Zakariyā' al-Asdī, the author of 'Ta'rīkh Mughal, are the two other historians of 'Irāq. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 A.H.) wrote an incomplete history of Mughal later.

Abū 'Umar Muhammad b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Kindī (d. about 355 A.H.), the author of (i) Faḍā'il Miṣr; (ii) Akhbār al-quḍāt al-Miṣriyyīn; (iii) Kitāb Tasmiyah Mulāt Miṣr and (iv) 'Ta'rīkh Miṣr is one of the early historians of Egypt. <sup>2</sup> Then Muhammad al-Hasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūlāq al-Laythī (d. 387 A.H.) wrote (i) Kitāb Muḥtaṣar Ta'rīkh Miṣr; (ii) Ta'rīkh Miṣr wa Faḍā'iluhā <sup>3</sup> and (iii) Tatrūḥ Kitāb al-Kindī fī Akhbār quḍāt Miṣr and 'Im al-Malik Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh, known as al-Musabbihī (d. 420 AH) wrote 'Kitāb Akhbār Miṣr. <sup>4</sup> Among the later historians of Egypt

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1. Ḥāfi Khaliṣah : Kaṣṣ al-Zunūn 1:298.

2. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rīkh Adab al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah 2:321.

3. Ibid.; 322.

4. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rīkh Adab al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah 2:323; al-Zirkillī: al-A'lām 7:140.

are included : Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-'Alā'ī, known as Ibn Daqāq, (d. 809 A.H.) who wrote 'al-Jawāb al-Iḥṣān fī Siyar al-Mulūk w-al-Salāṭīn'<sup>1</sup> and the great historian Taqī al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Dīn b. Muḥī al-Dīn al-Maqrīṣī (d. 846 A.H.) 'Al-Mawā'iz w-al-I'tibār b. Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ w-al-Āthār' is his very famous history of Egypt which is generally known as Khuṭaṭ al-Maqrīṣī.<sup>2</sup>

An early work which we get about Syria is the 'Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashq' by Ibn al-Qalānīsī (d. 555 A.H.).<sup>3</sup> Zubdat al-Halab fī Ta'rīkh Halab<sup>4</sup> by Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660 A.H.) is another work of this category. Histories of Aleppo were written also by al-Aṣīmī (d. 555 A.H.) under the title 'Ta'rīkh Halab'<sup>5</sup> and by Ibn Shaddād (694 A.H.) whose works are A'īn al-Hafīrah fī Dhikr Uṣṣūr al-Shām w-al-Jazīrah and Ta'rīkh Halab.<sup>6</sup> Ta'rīkh Dimashq al-Kabīr by Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 A.H.) is another work of this category.

The works written by the well known Spanish historian Ibn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Khaṭīb, nicknamed as

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1. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rīkh Adab al-Lughah al-'Arabiyah 3:188.
  2. Ibid.; 190.
  3. Al-Zirkillī : al-A'lām 2:308.
  4. Ibid. 5:197.
  5. Ibid. 7:165.
  6. Ibid. 6:236.

Isān al-Dīn (d. 776 A.H.), in this category are: (i) al-Iḥāṭah fī Ta'rīkh Gharnāṭah; (ii) al-Hulal al-Marqūmah; (iii) al-Hulal al-Mūḥayyah fī Dhikr al-Akḥbār al-Marākushīyah (iv) al-Lanḥah al-Badriyah fī al-Dawlah al-Haṣriyah and (v) al-Tāj al-Mahakī fī Muṣāḥabah al-Qaḍī al-Ma'ālī.

### (c) Biography

Biography is the third branch of historiography in which the Muslim historians made their great mark. As has already been mentioned, the Muslim historians started writing history with the biography of and the battles fought by the Prophet (Sīrah and al-Maghāzī). In the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences it has been mentioned that "This was due not so much to the often expressed fact that history is the record of man, but rather to the fact that Muslim historiography in its early beginnings was concerned with the story of the life of a great individual, the Prophet Muḥammad, and with the circumstances surrounding the activities of the early Muslim."

As has already been mentioned, among the earliest biographers of the Prophet are Ibn Hishām (d. 218 A.H.) and al-Wāqidī (d. 207 A.H.). Besides the Prophet, the great personalities among the companions like Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Talḥah,

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1. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rīkh Adab al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah 3:230-32.
  2. International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences. 6:409.

al-Zubayr, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and 'Ubaydah b. Jarrah became the centres of attraction for the early biographers. Later all the companions and those who followed them became the subject matter of those who wrote biographical dictionaries. The 'Usd al-Qabāḥ by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 A.H.) which contain 7300 biographies of the Prophet's companions and al-Istī'āb by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Hamārī (d. 463 A.H.) are among the well known biographies of the companions.

When there arose a good number of traditionists it became difficult to verify the genuineness of all the traditions reported by them. The only method to verify them was to determine if all the narrators were trustworthy. Hence the biographies of the traditionists were written and this particular branch of biography came to be known as Asmā' al-Rijāl. Asmā' al-Rijāl is a speciality of the literature produced by the Muslims and is not found in the literature of any other people. From the Asmā' al-Rijāl the Ṭabaqāt system emerged. Later a large number of Ṭabaqāt were written. They comprised the biographies of the people belonging to various categories as for example: the companions, those who followed them, the traditionists, the commentators, the jurists, the men of letters, the poets, the grammarians, the philosophers and the physicians. The Ṭabaqāt al-Saḥābah w-al-Tābi'īn or Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Manī' al-Zahrī (d. 280 A.H.) is a well known work in this field.

Biographical dictionaries have been written both of the important people belonging to a particular region or a particular period as well as of those belonging to the Muslim world and the Muslim period as a whole. Biographies written in later period have generally been arranged in alphabetical order. The following are some of the very famous biographers:

(1) Al-Ḥafiz Abū Bakr Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 463 A.H.), a traditionist and historian. His well known biographical dictionary of the prominent people who belonged to or visited Baghdād is known as <sup>1</sup> 'Ta'riḫ Baghdād' written in 14 volumes.

(2) Abū Naṣr 'Alī b. Hibat Allāh b. 'Alī, known as Ibn Mākilā (d. 486 A.H.). The name of his biographical dictionary is <sup>2</sup> 'al-Ikmāl.'

(3) Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Ḥafiz al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn al-Qaysurānī (d. 507 A.H.). His biographical dictionary of the traditionists is named <sup>3</sup> 'al-Jam' Bayna Rijāl al-Sahābah al-Bukhārī w-al-Muslim.'

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1. Ibn Taghrī Bardī al-Hujūm al-Zāhirah fī Maṣūḥ Naṣr w-al-Zāhirah 3:87; Jurjī Zaydān: Ta'riḫ Adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabiyah 2:326.
  2. Ibn al-Aṭhār : al-Kāmil 3:615 (Beirut, 1386/1966); Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'riḫ Adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabiyah 3:72.
  3. Al-Safadi : al-Nafī bil-Nafayāt 3:166-7 (Matba'ah al-Mashriqiyah 1963); Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'riḫ Adāb 3:73; al-Ziriklī : al-A'lām 7:41.

(4) 'Abd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Saṣānī (d. 563 A.H.). His important work is Kitāb al-Ansāb. Among <sup>included</sup> other works are (i) Ta'rikh <sup>Maṣraṭ</sup> (ii) <sup>Taṣṣawwuf</sup> Ta'rikh Baghdād li'l Khatīb and (iii) Ta'rikh al-Waṣīṭ li'l Muta'akhkhirīn min al-Ruṣāt.<sup>1</sup>

(5) Abū'l 'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. Abī Usaydī'ah, al-Sa'dī al-Kharrājī. He was born in Damascus in 600 A.H. His father was a physician there. He acquired knowledge of medicine from his father and completed his education in Cairo and joined the service of the Ayyūbids. He died in Baghdād in 668 A.H. He became famous by his book 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Tabaqāt al-A'libā'<sup>2</sup>, an outstanding biographical dictionary.

(6) Yāqūt al-Hamawī (d. 626 A.H.) was a great geographer and historian. His Mu'jam al-Buldān is a well known geographical dictionary. The 'Mu'jam al-Udabā' or 'Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifah al-Adīb'<sup>3</sup> is a famous biographical dictionary of the learned men.

(7) Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū'l 'Abbās Shams al-Dīn b. Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Barmakī al-Shāfi'ī, was

1. Tash Kubrī Zādah : Muṣṭafā al-Sa'ādah wa Hisbāh al-Siyādah 1:211 (Hyderabad 1328 A.H.).

2. Ibn Taghrī Bardī : al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah 7:229; Jurjī Zaydān: Ta'rikh Adīb 3:171.

3. Al-Yāfi'ī : Ma'rāṭ al-Jinān wa 'Abrah al-Yaqdān 4:59-60 (Hyderabad), 1339 A.H.).

born in 608/1211 at Irbīl near al-Moṣul and died in 691/1282 in Damascus. He became famous by his biographical dictionary, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*<sup>1</sup> which contains the biographies of 826 well known political, cultural and literary personalities of the Islamic world.

(8) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥafḥabī (d. 748 A.H.). Among his works are included:<sup>2</sup> (i) *Tahḍīb al-Tahḍīb al-Kamāl*, a biographical dictionary of the traditionists; *Tadhkirah al-Huffāz*; (ii) *Ḥizān al-Iʿtidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl*; (iv) *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāz* and (v) *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrāʾ*.

(9) Ṣalḥ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥafḥ Khallī b. Ayyub al-Ḥafḥī (d. 764 A.H.). Among his works are included:<sup>3</sup> (i) *Al-Ḥarfī fī Wafayāt* : a biographical dictionary perhaps the largest of its kind. (ii) *Aʿyān al-ʿAsr wa Aʿwān al-Haṣr* : a biographical dictionary of the well known men and women of the 8th century A.H.

(10) Shihāb al-Dīn, Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 A.H.). Among his works are included:<sup>4</sup> (i) *Al-Isābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*; a

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1. *Al-Zirkalī* : al-Aʿlām 1:212.

2. Ibn Taghrī Bardī : *al-Mujūn al-Zahrah* 10:182, Jurjī Zaydān : *Taʾrīkh Idāb* 3:203-3.

3. Jurjī Zaydān : *Taʾrīkh Idāb* 3:176.

4. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bawḳānī : *al-Badr al-Ṭahī* bi-Maḥāsinih



biographical dictionary of the companions and the followers.

(ii) Al-Majma' al-Mu'assas li'l Mu'jam al-Mufahris. In it the author has included the biographies of his teachers. (iii) Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah; a biographical dictionary of the well known person of the eighth century of Hijrah. (iv) Raf' al-Agr 'An Quṣṣat Miṣr : The author has given in it an account of the judges of Egypt from its conquest by the Muslims upto the 8th century A.H. (v) Tahdhīb al-Kutub or Tarajim al-Muhaddithīn (vi) Tarjuman al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Bada'ī and (vii) Lisan al-Mizan.

(ii) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902 A.H.). Among his works are included: (i) Al-Jaw' al-Lānī fī A'yān al-qarn al-Tāsi', a biographical dictionary of the well known people of the 9th century of Hijrah; (ii) al-Kawakib al-Muḥī' : biographies of the author's contemporaries and (iii) Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah.

Biographies in the form of obituaries were included in a large number in annalistic histories.

As far as the individual biographies are concerned, we are aware of only a few of them. Among them are (i) Sirah al-Sultān al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars (d. 676 A.H.) by 'Abd Allāh

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(Continued from the previous page)

Shams al-qarn al-Sābi' 1:37-92 (Cairo, 1348 A.H.); Jurjī

Zaydān : Ta'rīkh Adab 3:179-81; al-Zirkālī : al-A'lām 1:173-74.

1. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rīkh Adab 3:183-84.

b. 'Abd al-Qāhir (d. 692 A.H.)<sup>1</sup> and (ii) 'Ajā'ib al-Maqtūr fī Hawā'id al-Taymūr, a biography of the Mongol conqueror Tamerlan by Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 854 A.H.)<sup>2</sup>.

A few historical works were written in rhymed prose and as well as in verses too. But they are not of much importance from the historical point of view.

'Tuhfat al-Nazzār fī Gharrā'id al-Ansār wa 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār', known as Rihish Ibn Batūtah', by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ianjī known as Ibn Batūtah (d. 779 A.H.)<sup>3</sup>, the famous Moroccan traveller, is a well known travelogue with historical importance Sarton says: 'The Rihish may be called one of the monument of fourteenth century historiography.'<sup>4</sup>

In the field of 'history of sciences' a great name is that of the author of the 'Tabaqāt al-Umam', Sā'id b. Ahmad al-Andalusī (d. 468 A.H.) who has been dealt with elaborately at a suitable place in this thesis.

In the field of philosophy of history we find only one name but it is of a very great historian, that of Ibn Khaldūn.

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1. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rikh Aḥb3:107.

2. Ibid3: 168-9.

3. Ibid 3:239.

4. George Sarton : Introduction to the History of Science II, 3:1262.

IBN KHALDŪN, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khaldūn,<sup>1</sup> an Arab philosopher of history, historian and sociologist, was the greatest social scientist of Islām and indeed the outstanding figure in the social sciences between Aristotle and Machiavelli. He developed one of the world's most significant philosophies of history and ~~was~~ wrote a definitive history of Muslim North Africa.<sup>2</sup>

He was born in Tunis on 1 Rabi'ān 732/27 May 1332 in an Arab family of Maḥmūdī of al-Yaman from the progeny of Mā'il b. Huḥr, which migrated from Seville after playing there an important political role since the Muslim conquest. Ibn Khaldūn received a thorough education based on the Qur'ān, Hadīth, Fiqh and Arabic literature. He also studied logic and philosophy. He held many high offices in various North African courts. In the year 784/1384 he went to Egypt and from there went to Makkah for Hajj and again returned to Egypt and stayed there. During his stay there he taught in various colleges including al-Azhar and was appointed six times as qāḍī.<sup>3</sup> In 1401 he met the Mongol conqueror Tamerlan in Syria but refused to enter his service.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn Khaldūn : Kitāb al-'Ibar 7:379 (Egypt, 1294 A.H.).

2. Encyclopaedia Britannica 9:147 (U.S.A., 1977).

3. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4:106-7; Encyclopaedia of Islām 3:828.

4. Dictionary of Oriental Literatures 3:79 (Delhi, 1974).

Ibn Khaldūn died in Cairo on 26 Rabi' al-Thani 808/15 March 1406.<sup>1</sup>

Besides his major work, 'Kitāb al-'Ibar, wa-Diwan al-Mubtada' w-al-Khabar fi Ayyam al-'Arab w-al-'Ajam w-al-Barbar', a few other works have been attributed to Ibn Khaldūn. They are (i) a commentary on the qasidah al-Burda of al-Buhārī, (ii) an outline of logic, (iii) a treatise on arithmetic, (iv) a commentary on a poem by Ibn al-Khatīb and (v) several resumes of works of Ibn Rushd.<sup>2</sup>

His principal work, Kitāb al-'Ibar', is a history of the world with special emphasis on North Africa and Near East. Encyclopaedia Britannica considers it as 'a work that is not of such universal significance but which does constitute the best single source on the history of Muslim North Africa.'<sup>3</sup>

The Muqaddimah (Introduction) he wrote to the 'Kitāb al-'Ibar' is his masterpiece. This led him to formulate what the 20th century English historian Arnold Toynbee has described as "a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place."<sup>4</sup> George Barton says that : " 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn

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1. Al-Sakhāwī : al-Daw' al-Lāmi' 4:143; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4:106.

2. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4:106-7; Encyclopaedia of Islām 3:823.

3. Encyclopaedia Britannica 9:149.

4. Ibid : 143.

Khaldūn was a historian, politician, sociologist, economist, a deep student of human affairs, anxious to analyze the past of mankind in order to understand its present and its future. Not only is he the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, towering like a giant over a tribe of pygmies, but one of the first philosophers of history, a forerunner of Machiavelli, Bodin, Vico, Comte and Cournot. Among Christian historians of the Middle Ages there are but one or two when we can perhaps compare to him, to wit, Otto Von Freising and John of Salisbury, and the distance between them and him is great indeed, far greater than the distance between him and Vico.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khaldūn has divided the text of the Muqaddimah into six main chapters. In the first chapter he has discussed human civilization in general and in the second Bedouin Civilization, savage nations and tribes and their conditions of life. The third chapter deals with dynasties, royal authority, the caliphate, government hierarchy and related things. The theme of the fourth chapter is countries and cities and all other forms of sedentary civilization. In the fifth chapter various aspects of making a living such as agriculture and crafts have been mentioned and in the sixth various branches of knowledge and the methods of instruction have been discussed.

The major criticism against Ibn Khaldūn is that the critical theories propounded by him in the Muqaddimah were not put in to practice when he wrote his Kitāb al-'Ibar.

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1. George Sarton : Introduction to the history of Science 3, II: 1262 (Washington, 1947).

To conclude we may say that historical works constitute a large percentage of the literature of the various Muslim peoples. As we get from it information regarding such branches of knowledge as genealogy, biography, geography and cosmography, philosophy, political and social sciences and the use of documents, inscriptions and coins, Muslim historiography may be considered a means for preserving and reflecting the achievements of the Muslim mind. Rosenthal says: "It could not be said that historiography ever originated an intellectual movement in Islam."<sup>1</sup> Though he admits the fundamental contribution of Muslim historiography to the development of Western medicine and philosophy, yet, for the development of Western historiography, he says that the contribution of Muslim historiography was 'comparatively little'. Again he says: "No research will be able to discover that Muslim historiography ever reached the depth of penetration and artistic expression of classical Greek or Roman historiography although it eventually achieved a definite advance beyond previous historical writing in the sociological understanding of history and the scientific systematization of historiography.....Indeed, it may be doubted whether anywhere in earlier history, there existed so large a historical literature as we find in Islam."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Rosenthal : A History of Muslim Historiography : 172.

2. Ibid : 172-73.

## CHAPTER III

### ORIGIN OF HISTORIOGRAPHY IN SPAIN AND ITS DEVELOPMENT DURING 10TH CENTURY A.D.

In Spain Arabic historiography had a comparatively late start. This was mainly because of two reasons : the Muslims who entered Spain were pre-occupied with the conquest and establishment of their rule and hence could not direct their attention to literary or scientific pursuit for quite some time; there was no intellectual tradition worth the name in Spain which the Muslims could emulate.

The names of only three historians can be traced out during the ninth century A.D. who may be called the originators of history writing in Spain. They are 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb b. Sulaymān b. Ḥārūn al-Sulamī (d. 232/843); Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Qurtubī (d. 242 A.H.) and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kinānī al-Rāzī (d. 273/886). No information is available about al-Qurtubī and his work except that the name of his work was Akhbār Sulamī al-Andalus. This work is not extant.

'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb b. Sulaymān b. Ḥārūn al-Sulamī wrote 'Tarīkh al-Andalus'. This is considered as the first historical work compiled in Muslim Spain. The name of this work has been given as al-Tarīkh<sup>1</sup> by Ahmad Amīn in Zubr al-Islām (3:274-5). Al-Zirkilī has ascribed to al-Sulamī a historical

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1. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lan 4:302.

work under the title of *Ḥurūb al-Islām*. But it is not clear whether this is the same work as mentioned above. The author was born at *Ḥiṣn Wāt*, near Granada, in 180/796 and died at Cordova on 17th February, 232/853. He studied at Elvira and Cordova and, after he had made the pilgrimage and had become acquainted with the doctrine of Imām Malik at Madīnah became one of his most ardent followers in Muslim Spain where the school of al-Awḥā'ī had dominated until then. He had also visited Egypt. By virtue of his exceptional erudition he became known as the scholar of Spain par excellence and was compared with Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd, the famous jurist of Ifrīqiya.<sup>2</sup> Besides the above mentioned historical work, al-Zirkillī<sup>3</sup> adds the following works to his credit: (1) *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā' wa al-Fāhi'in*; (2) *Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*; (3) *Taḥṣīl Maṣāḥib Mālik*; (4) *al-Maḥabib*; (5) *Maḥabib al-Hudā*; (6) *al-Farā'id*; (7) *Makarim al-Akhlaq* and (8) *al-Wara'*. Al-Zirkillī<sup>4</sup> also says that these are only a few of his many works which exceed one thousand. Besides the name nothing is known about *Tārīkh al-Andalus*. All that we know about the works of the author is: 'According to his own account, his works numbered 1050, but of them none remains but an unpublished manuscript preserved in the

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1. Al-Zirkillī : al-A'lām 4:302.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3:775.

3. Al-Zirkillī : al-A'lām 4:302.

4. Ibid.



Bodleian at Oxford which, despite its antiquity, is of little value. This account in which he mingles Biblical history with that of Muḥammad and the first caliphs, the history of al-Andalus with theological questions, is full of fabulous material. Travellers from Spain, greeted in the East as ignorant rustics, accepted as historical truth Egyptian legends which spoke of a country of jinn, of enchanted palaces of moving statues, and of devils imprisoned in boxes by Sātan, such as are reproduced in the History of the conquests of Egypt and the Maḡrib<sup>1</sup> by the Egyptian Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.<sup>2</sup> In his work, Zuhur al-Islām, Aḥmad Amin, after considering Ibn Ḥabīb as one of the first historians of Muslim Spain says about him. "He had composed works concerning all branches of knowledge. Among them is a general history which is named "al-Ta'rīkh." This book has utmost similarity with the history of al-Ṭabarī. In it he discusses the beginning of the creation of the Universe, the skies, the oceans, the mountains, the heaven and hell, Ādam and Eve and what happened to them due to their contact with Iblīs. Then he deals with the Prophets one by one and it serves as a commentary on the verses of the Qurān about them. This part of Ibn Ḥabīb's history is full of Jewish legends which are reported from Waḥḥ b. Munabbah, Ka'b al-Aḥḡar and the like. Finally when

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3:775.

2. Aḥmad Amin : Zuhur al-Islām 3:274-5.

he comes to the history of Spain he mentions its conquest and refers to the legends like the dream of Tāriq b. Ziyād, charm of Rhoderic, story of the diningtable and the treasures of gold, silver, emerald and ruby which they possessed there and so on."

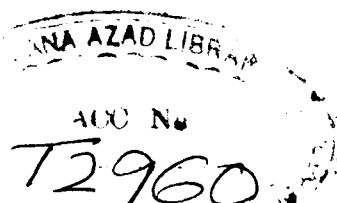
A tenth century (A.D.) Spanish historian Ibn al-Qūṭaybah says that Ibn Ḥabīb's work on the victory of Spain also trace the history of Gothic Kings.<sup>1</sup> Hence the credit of being the originator of historiography in Muslim Spain goes to Ibn Ḥabīb.

Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Bashīr b. Jarūd b. Laqīṭ al-Kinānī al-Rāṣī compiled a work known as Kitāb al-Rayāt. He was the first in the series of three historians of the same family, the second and third being his son and grandson who flourished in the 10th century A.D. He was a much travelled and highly cultured Persian merchant from the town of Rayy-whence the family name al-Rāṣī. He had open doors at the court of Cordova and occasionally was even entrusted by the amir 'Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and after him his son and successor, al-Mundhir,<sup>2</sup> with missions in al-Andalus and abroad which might today be called public relations. Returning from such a voyage to the south of the country (Albīra), and accompanied by his wife and three-year old son Aḥmad, he

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1. Ibn al-Qūṭaybah : Ta'rīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus : 32.

2. Al-Shantāwī and others : Dā'irah al-'arīf al-Islāmiyyah



suddenly died<sup>1</sup> in the Rabi' al-thani<sup>2</sup> of 273 corresponding to 5th September or 3rd October, 886.

Al-Zirkili<sup>3</sup> says that in this work he has mentioned the entry of Mūsā b. Nusayr into Spain and the number of banners belonging to the Quraish and the Arabs which had been brought with him. They numbered more than twenty.

The writer al-Harrākushī Muḥammad al-Wasīr al-Ghassānī, in his work 'Rihlat al-Wasīr fī Irtikāk al-Asīr', which deals with the embassies to Spain in 1691, has quoted the information about Muḥammad al-Rāzī given by Muḥammad b. Musayn in his work. Ibn Musayn says that he saw in one of the libraries of Seville a small book of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī named 'Kitāb al-Nayāt' in which he had discussed the Muslim victory of al-Andalus and given a description of the Arabian troops which entered the Peninsula with Mūsā b. Nusayr. Each company was distinguished<sup>4</sup> by its own flag.

As has already been mentioned, these three historians started history writing in Spain in the ninth century A.D. when

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1. Ibid; al-Zirkili : al-A'lām 7:338; Stephen and Nandy Roberts: Concise Encyclopedia of Arabic Civilization, 2:323-4.
  2. Al-Shantāvi and others: Dā'irah al-Ma'arif al-Islāmiyyah 9:447.
  3. Al-Zirkili : al-A'lām 7:338.
  4. Al-Shantāvi and others : Dā'irah al-Ma'arif al-Islāmiyyah 9:447-48.

more than a century had lapsed since the conquest of Spain by the Muslims. But during this century any considerable progress could not be achieved in this field. It was only in the tenth century and the centuries that followed that the names of many important historians and their works illuminate the literary horizon of Spain.

Though during the 10th century many historical works were written, yet nothing is known about them beyond their names and some scanty information. Only five works are available in their complete form. The historical books written during this period mainly fall into three categories: (1) History of Spain, (2) History of nations other than Spain and (3) biographies.

#### 1. HISTORY OF SPAIN:

During the 10th century we are aware of nine titles dealing with the history of Spain. Some of them deal with Spain as a whole while others deal with certain parts of the country only. Of these only one work, i.e. *Ta'riḥ Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* by Ibn al-Qūṭiyah has been published. A part of this work, from the beginning to the end of the rule of Ḥishāmī, in 32 pages, was edited and published separately by Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣabīḥ (al-Maktabah wa-al-Maṭba'ah al-Mahmūdiyyah Jāmi' al-Ashar, Egypt). This work has been written according to the rulers.

Ta'riḫ Iftitāḥ al-Andalus by Ibn al-Qūṭiyah, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Asīs b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Isa b. Muṣāḥib nicknamed<sup>1</sup> as Abū Bakr. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah (son of a Gothic woman),<sup>2</sup> owes his appellation to the fact that one of his ancestors, 'Isa b. Muṣāḥib, a freedman of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Asīs, had married Sārah daughter of al-Mundu and grand-daughter of the penultimate visigothic king, Chytilah. Leaving Seville, where her family was living, Sārah had gone to Damascus to complain to the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik of the losses she had suffered at the hands of her uncle Irḫīās who, on the death of his brother, had seized his possessions in the east of al-Andalus. 'Isa and Sārah returned to al-Andalus and their descendants lived in Seville. 'Isa b. Muṣāḥib was the grandfather of Ibn al-Qūṭiyah,<sup>3</sup> who was thus a mawla of the Umayyads and a descendant of the visigothic nobility.<sup>4</sup> About his father, mother and other family members

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1. Ibn al-Faragī : Ta'riḫ al-'Ulamā' 2:78.

2. These Goths had affinity with the family of Ḥān b. Ḥān (peace be upon him) who lived in Spain as well as in Sūriyā, India and Sind — al-Suyūṭī : Buḥyāt al-'Āt : 84-85 (1300 A.H.), Ibn al-'Isā : Shadharāt-ul-Dhahab 3:62; Ibn Khallikān : Wafayāt al-A'yān 4:5

3. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Ta'riḫ Iftitāḥ : 32.

4. Ibn Farḥān : al-Dībāj : 263; Ibn Khallikān : Wafayāt al-A'yān 4:5; Encyclopaedia of Islām 3:847-48.

little is known. Also none of his biographers has given the date or year of his birth. He was born in Seville and studied there under Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qaṣṣī, Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zuhayrī, Sa'īd b. Jābir, 'Alī b. Abī Ḥaybah and Sayyid Abūhī al-Zahid. In Cordova he studied under Jābir b. 'Abd al-<sup>Ibn Abī</sup> 'Asīs, al-Ḥalīd al-A'raj, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīb b. Muḥḥith, Muḥammad b. Lubāba, 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Tanīm, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Asīs, Aḥmad b. Khālid, Muḥammad b. Miṣwar, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ayyan, 'Abdullāh b. Yūsuf, Aḥmad b. Bishr al-Aghbas, Qāsim b. Ashagh and others like them. He lectured in Cordova and had several pupils, some of them are well known, especially the qāḍī Abū'l Ḥasan Khulaf b. 'Isa al-Maqqūf and the historian Ibn al-Faradī who is also his principal biographer. He won distinction as a poet but even more as a grammarian and lexicographer. On grammar and lexicography he wrote Kitāb al-Maqqūr wa'l Mamūl and Kitāb Taḥrīf al-Af'āl. The latter was highly esteemed by the later generations. He also gained reputation as a juriconsult and traditionist and, though criticised, he was none the less consulted by fellow scholars as to the meaning or idea of various phrases from the grammatical or lexico-logical point of view. His fame led to his being presented to al-Ḥakam II as the greatest philologist of his time. He held the office

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1. Ibn al-Faradī : Ta'rīkh al-'Ulamā' 2:78-9; Ibn Farḥūn : al-Dībāj : 262; Ibn Khallikān : Maḥayāt al-A'yān 4:4.

of qāḍī and enjoyed great prestige during his life time. He died in Cordova in old age, on Tuesday, 23 Rabi' al-awwal, 397/<sup>1</sup> 6 November, 977.

Ia'riḡh Iftitāḡ al-Andalus, as its name indicates, is a history of Spain from Muslim conquest to the early part of 'Abd al-Raḡmān III's reign. It is the most famous of his historical works. It is a history of the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and of the emirate to the end of the reign of the emir 'Abd Allāḡ.<sup>2</sup> In it 'he has displayed the highest skill and seems to be so fully acquainted with the biographies of amīrs, jurists and poets who flourished in Spain that he used to dictate, from memory, all the facts concerning them.<sup>3</sup> In short, this is one of the most important sources in Arabic historiography to study the conquest of Spain by the 'Arabs.<sup>4</sup> No doubt for most of the later authors it provided source material for writing the history of Spain.

'Abd Allāḡ Anīs al-Jabbā' has edited this work and has written an introduction covering twenty one pages. To increase the utility of the work the editor has added to it a part of

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3:847-8.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3:849-8.

3. Ibn Khallikān : Maḡayāt al-A'yān 4:4.

4. 'Abd Allāḡ Anīs al-Jabbā' : Introduction of Ia'riḡh Iftitāḡ al-Andalus by Ibn al-Qūṭaybah : 7.

"al-Imārah u-al-Siyāsah" by Ibn Qutaybah and has entitled it as "ḡiṣṣah Fath al-Andalus" and a part of "al-Fisṭah al-Sharīfah ilā al-Aqṭar al-Andalusīyah" under the title of "Mabdhātūn min Akhbār Fath al-Andalus li Tāriq ibn Ziyād wa Mūsā ibn Naṣayr."

In his work Ibn al-Qūṭiyah has arranged the subject matter aptly according to the priority of the events which occurred under 45 titles. The space devoted to each topic is not uniform. It varies from two lines to a few pages.

As has been mentioned, this is a political history of Spain from Muslim conquest to the early part of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's reign. But here and there it throws some scanty rays of light on the religious, social, cultural and sometimes the economic conditions of Spain during the period it covers. The following are a few of such examples.

In the following quotation, where he describes the return journey of Mūsā b. Naṣayr from Spain at the order of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, Ibn al-Qūṭiyah informs us not only about the multitude of petty kingdoms existing in Spain before its conquest by the Muslims but also gives an account of their prosperity. He says:

وتوجه موسى بن نصير و معه من أبناء الطوك الصم أربع مائة  
على رؤوسهم تيجان الذهب ولى أوطاعهم مناطق الذهب

(Mūsā b. Naṣayr returned with 400 non-Arab princes  
crowned with scepters of gold and girdled with gold



<sup>1</sup>  
balts).

In the following quotation, while explaining a step taken by Abū al-Khaṭṭār, the governor of Spain at the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, to curb a riot which had been continuing there Ibn al-Qūṭiyah says that:

لأنزل أهل دمشق بالهيرة وأهل الأردن بيرة وأهل فلسطين  
بغذوة وأهل حمص بانبليمة وأهل قنسرين بجهان وأهل  
مر بياجة ونظماً منم بتدوير

(He settled the people of Damascus in Elvira,  
the people of al-Ardan in Rayyah, the people  
of Palestine in Shachūm, the people of Hims  
in Seville, the people of Qinnisrīn in Jayyān  
and the people of Egypt in Bijāyahand a group  
of them in Tūmār).

Through this quotation the author makes us aware of the fact that through this action, by settling the different Arab peoples in different parts of Spain, the governor was not only curbing the revolt but he was also giving a special colour to the Spanish society which we could not see earlier when the Arabs had concentrated in one particular region and the other people were living in other regions.

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1. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Ta'rīkh Iftitāh : 36.

2. Ibid : 43.

It seems that in this work Ibn al-Qūṭiyah has mixed fables with facts. For example in the following quotation Ibn al-Qūṭiyah has given credence to a common thought regarding the cause of Muslim victory over Spain. He says:

ويقال انه كان الطورك القوط بطلبلة بيت فيه تابوت وفي التابوت  
الاربعة الاناجيل التي يقسمون بها وكانوا يحفظون ذلك البيت ولا  
يفتحونه وكان اذا مات الطوك منعم كتب عليه اسمه

(It is said that for the Gothic kings there was a house at Toledo in which there was<sup>a</sup> chest in which there were<sup>the</sup> four Bibles by which they swore. They respected that house and did not open it. When a king of them was dead his name<sup>1</sup> was written on it).

Through this we are made aware of a religious custom prevailing in the royalty of Spain at that time. The saying continues and concludes by pointing out that the violation of this religious custom by Rhoderic was the reason for the victory of the Muslims.

Among the Muslim religious sects in Spain the author has particularly mentioned the Khārijites and said that:<sup>2</sup> Then there appeared in the Jazīrah the Khārijites whose ideology was the same as that of the Khārijites at the time of their

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1. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Ta'riḥ Iftitāḥ : 32-3.

2. Ibid : 71.

rebellion against 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah may God be pleased with them, and those caliphs who followed them.

Then he has mentioned how the Maliki school of thought made its entry into Spain during the period of 'Abd al-Rahmān II.

At another place<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-qūṭiyah has described beautifully the influence exerted by a musician, al-Ziriyāh, on the Spanish society.

Throughout the Ta'rīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus we feel that a condition of war prevailed in Spain. Mostly ill fate struck the rulers, commanders of army and soldiers from time to time. The book is full of such incidents and often invokes our sympathy for them. One such example is the murder of 'Abd al-'Azīz, the son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. The author has described this incident thus:

فلما أصبح خرج إلى المسجد وزارني الحراب وقراها  
الكتاب و سورة الواقعة فرفع القم سرفهم عليه برة وأخذوا  
رأسه وبعثوا به إلى سليمان

(When it dawned he ('Abd al-'Azīz) went to the mosque and entered the mihrāb (prayer niche). When he recited the Fātiha and the Sūrah al-Māqī'ah the people drew their swords against him all at once and cut his head and they sent it to Sulaimān).

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1. Ibn al-qūṭiyah : Ta'rīkh Iftitāh : 79.

2. Ibid : 37.

So also the slaughter of the ditch,<sup>1</sup> which has been mentioned earlier, was an incident which invokes our sympathy.

From the account of the wars we come to understand that they were fought only on land and the army used for this purpose consisted of soldiers and cavalry. Sword was the common weapon. The common punishment meted out to the enemies was murder and imprisonment.

Ibn al-Qūṭiyah has attributed victory of the Muslims in Spain to the blessings of the Prophet. With this end in view he has described a dream seen by Ṭāriq b. Ziyād in the ship in which he was going to Spain in the following words:<sup>2</sup>

فكان يرى في نومه صلى الله عليه وسلم وحوله المهاجرون  
والانصار قد ظفروا السيوف وتكفروا القس فيمروا بالنبي بطارق  
فيقول له تقدم لشأنك

(Then he (Ṭāriq b. Ziyād) saw in his dream the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and grant him peace, and around him there were the Muḥājirūn (Migrants) and the Anṣār (Supporters) who had girded themselves with swords and had put bows on their shoulders. The Prophet passed through Ṭāriq and said to him: "proceed with your business").

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1. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Ta'riḥ Ifṭitāḥ : 68-69.

2. Ibid : 34.

The author has adopted the method of discussing one ruler after another. While dealing with a ruler he has mentioned his outstanding qualities first. For example about al-Hakam he says that: <sup>1</sup> His behaviour was good to his subjects, he was generous to his officers and governors; he had made the roads peaceful and took part repeatedly in Jihād. At the beginning of his rule he selected as qāḍī of Spain the most righteous and the most just person from among them, i.e. Muḥammad b. Baḥār.

To prove the justice of Muḥammad b. Baḥār the author has thrown light on his previous life and has mentioned that by selecting him as a judge al-Hakam himself emerges as a good ruler. Then after discussing these qualities under different titles he describes important incidents like civil war, draught, eclipse of the sun etc. or deals with personalities like ministers, juriconsults, poets, courageous men etc. While dealing with the period when Spain was a subordinate state of the Umayyad kingdom and its ruler was appointed by the governor of North Africa who himself was appointed by the Umayyad Caliph, first of all the author writes about the Umayyad Caliph, then the governor of North Africa and only then about the ruler of Spain. In this way when Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Malik was the Caliph the names of about seven rulers of Spain, under Bishr b. Saḥwān of North Africa, are given. In this work he has not left out

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1. Ibn al-Qūtiyyah : Ta'riḥ Iftatāḥ : 67.

any person or event which in his opinion needed to be mentioned.

While enumerating the qualities of notable personalities he has paid special attention to the quality of moral courage. For example we are informed by him of the moral courage of Mūsā b. Judayr, the treasurer during the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hakam, when 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hakam asked the treasurer to pay to Ziriyāb 30,000 dīnars as a reward for a song, Mūsā b. Judayr refused<sup>61</sup> saying that he was not only the treasurer of the Amīr but also<sup>1</sup> the Muslims and hence it was not proper for him to carry out the order of the Amīr<sup>1</sup>.

Though Ta'rīkh Iftitāh al-Andalus is a meritorious historical work, it has its own defects. Being a history of Spain it gives no geographical knowledge about the country. Another important defect is that, but in a very few number of cases, the author does not give the date or year of the happenings.

In rare cases, where some description is needed, he leaves blank space. The author might have thought of furnishing these informations later but could not do so.

About this work in the Encyclopedia of Islām it is said: "The chronicle of Ibn al-Qūṭiyah was dictated in the second half of the 4th/10th century and was written down by one of his pupils; it consists of a series of detached notes taken down

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1. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah : Ta'rīkh Iftitāh : 90.

from dictation, and it is possible that there existed various recensions or copies made by other pupils; a hypothesis of this kind is supported by the fact that the incomplete edition of the Ta'riḫ Faṭḥ al-Andalus published in Cairo contains many variants. The chronicle, which could not have been disseminated before the 5th/11th century, has a special value for the history of al-Andalus in the 3rd/9th century.<sup>1</sup>

'The Arabic text prepared from MS. Paris 706, by Gayangos, Sanvendra and Codera, was printed in 1888, but it was published only by J. Ribera, with a Spanish translation and a helpful introduction, at Madrid in 1903. O Houdas published the first part of the Arabic text with a French translation in Paris in 1889.<sup>2</sup> The Ta'riḫ was re-edited by 'Abd Allāh Anīs al-Tabbā', after comparing the two manuscripts of Paris and Madrid, in Beirut in 1957.

The following is an account of the works which were written during this period and fall in this category along with the account of their authors. As far as I know these works are not available now.

Ta'riḫ Malūk al-Andalus by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Bashīr al-Rāzī known as al-Ta'riḫī. Without mentioning the title

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1. *Encyclopaedia of Islām* 3 : 947-8.

2. *Ibid.*

of this work Stephen and Handy Renart have included it among the lost works of the author and have called it "a comprehensive history of al-Andalus". They say that this was a history of al-Andalus under the Umayyads down to the author's time continued, and in parts completed, by his son 'Isā<sup>1</sup>. Since no other biographer of the author has mentioned any other work by him dealing with the history of al-Andalus it must be the same work. It is regrettable that this work has been lost but some information about it has been supplied by the biographers of al-Rāḡī. According to this information it was a work of great significance about kings of al-Andalus their services, calamities and invasions. About this work and its author it has been said in the concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization that<sup>2</sup> He studied religious sciences in Cordova, but soon developed a strong inclination for the investigation of the Andalusian past and seems to have gained access to sources of information otherwise hardly available. The only data on his method of arranging the material he collected, are a few short notes left by his son 'Isā al-Rāḡī, but the result of the modern studies show unequivocally that this was the first attempt undertaken in al-Andalus to write history not in the form of an assemblage of tales more often than not of a legendary character, but to record events in their social and

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1. Stephen and Handy Renart : Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization 2 : 324.

2. Ibid.



political context.' In the category under study the following two titles have also been credited to this author, but unfortunately they too have been lost. They are *Mawālī al-Andalus* and *Akhhār Banī Qāsi wa-al-Fajriyyīn wa Banī Tawāl wa-al-Thaghar*.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known about these works besides their names.

The author of these works, *Al-Rāsi*, was born in Spain on the 10th Dhū'l Hijja, 274 (April 26, 888).<sup>2</sup> But in the preceding account of his father it has been mentioned on the strength of his biographers that our author was three years old when his father died in Rabi' al-thānī, 273 (September 5 or October 3, 886). Obviously either of these two dates must be wrong. About the date of his death also there are two different versions. One group gives the year of his death as 325 A.H./<sup>3</sup> 937 A.D. while the other gives it as 12th Rajab, 344/November 1, 955.<sup>4</sup> However, Ibn al-Faragī, his principal biographer, has given the date of his birth as Monday, the 10th of Dhū al-Hijja,

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1. Ibid ; Brockelmann : *Ta'riḥ al-Adab al-'Arabī* 3:87; *Al-Shantāwī* and others: *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyah* 9:447.
  2. *Al-Shantāwī* and others: *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyah* 9:447.
  3. Brockelmann : *Ta'riḥ al-Adab al-'Arabī* 3:86; Clement Huart: *A History of Arabic Literature* : 183 (London, 1903); George Sarton : *Introduction to the History of Science* 1 : 643.
  4. *Al-Shantāwī* and others : *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyah* 9:447; Stephen and Handy Bonart : *Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization* 2 : 383.

274 and that of his death as Thursday, the 12th Rajab, 344 A.H.<sup>1</sup>  
 This version seems to be more correct considering the close  
 association of Ibn al-Faraj<sup>2</sup> with al-Rāzī. Al-Rāzī was the  
 pupil of Cordovan scholars of repute like Ahmad b. Khalid and  
 Isma b. Ashbagh.<sup>3</sup> He was 'the' first in date of the great his-  
 torians of al-Andalus.<sup>3</sup> Beyond historical works he has also  
 written Kitāb fī aḥwāl qurtubā, a description of Cordova, and  
 Kitāb al-Istī'āb, a voluminous work on the genealogies of the  
 Arabs of Spain.<sup>4</sup>

About the availability of his historical writings the  
 following information is contained in the Encyclopaedia of  
 Islām.<sup>5</sup> 'Until quite recently we had only a few quotations from  
 Ahmad al-Rāzī preserved by later writers. The recent discovery  
 of a fragmentary manuscript of a chronicle relating to the IXth  
 century in Spain now puts at our disposal quite extensive extracts  
 from this author and from his son 'Isa'.

Ta'rikh al-Mustashin wa'l-Qasbiin bi'l Andalus wa

Alghbaratun by Ibn al-Faraj al-Jayyānī, Abū 'Umar Ahmad b. Muhammad,  
 poet, anthologist and historian of Muslim Spain. The only

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1. Ibn al-Faraj : Ta'rikh al-'Ulamā' 1 : 54-55.
  2. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 1137.
  3. Ibid 3 : 1137.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid.

information we have about him is provided by Jadhwat al-Muqtabih in a few lines and reproduced by other writers. All that is known is that he was among the poets attached to the court of al-Hakam II, al-Muntasir bilah (360-63/961-76). Either his misfortune or his irascible nature led him to compose a satire on al-Hakam due to which the latter consigned him to prison for the rest of his life where he continued to write poems and books. He had two brothers who were also poets. This book, a history of the insurgents and rebels in Muslim Spain, now lost, itself must have been written in prison. This is why it expresses the bitterness Ibn Faraj felt towards the caliph.<sup>1</sup>

Kitāb Akhbār Majmū'ah fī Fath al-Andalus:

The author of this work, whose name is not known, was a jurist from the 'Umayyad family of Cordova. He compiled this work during the period of the 'Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Rahmān III (300-360/912-961). This work has been published in Madrid in 1897.<sup>2</sup>

Akhbār Rayyāhīn. Bilād al-Andalus wa Mugūribīh wa wulātīh wa Hurūbīh wa Fuqahī'ih wa Shu'arā'ih, in several volumes by Isḥāq b. Salma b. Walīd b. Zayd b. Asad Abū 'Abd al-Harīd al-Qaynī, a native of Rayyah in Spain. This history was written

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1. Al-Dabih : Bughyat al-Multamis : 140; Encyclopaedia of Islam 3 : 762.
  2. Brockelmann : Tarīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī 3 : 86.

by the order of al-Mustansir Billāh. Al-Qaynī died in 368/<sup>1</sup>978.

Al-Ma'ārif fī Ahbār Kūrah Libārah wa Ahlīhā wa Fawā'idihā

in Andalus by Mutarrif b. 'Isā al-Ghassānī, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān, of Granada. He was a learned man and a transmitter of the traditions of the Prophet. He studied in Spain and then travelled in many countries, performed the Hajj and acquired much knowledge. He has written the above mentioned work for Khalīfa al-Hakam. He died in Alvira in 377/987. Ta'rikh al-Andalus: by Ahmad b. Mūsā al-'Arūdī (d. 388 A.H.).<sup>3</sup>

(2) General History:

In this category we could get only six titles of works. Of which al-Ta'rikh al-Kubr, written by 'Abd al-Malik b. Ahmad (d. 393/1003) in more than hundred volumes, marks a great achievements. Unfortunately this work is not extant. The lone extant work in this field is the Salah Ta'rikh al-Jabari, written about the 'Abbasids, by 'Arīb b. Sa'd al-Kātib al-Qurṭubī. In this work we come across annalistic method of history writing

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1. Ismā'īl Bāghā al-Baghdādī : Hayat al-'Arifīn 1:200, al-Zirkilī : Al-A'ilm 1:286.
  2. Ibn Bāghkumāl : al-Salāh : 363 (Madrid, 1883); al-Zirkilī: al-A'ilm 8 : 156.
  3. Hājī Khalīrah : Kashf al-Zunūn 1 : 286.

in Spain for the first time. According to the biographers of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ahmad, the author of Tā'rikh al-Kabīr, it was also written annalistically.

Silah Tā'rikh al-Tabarī by 'Arīb b. Sa'd al-Kātib al-Qurtubī. 'Arīb b. Sa'd, a Hispano Muslim historian and physician, originally a christian, flourished at the court of 'Abd al-Rahmān III (300-350/912-961) and al-Hakam II (350-360/961-70) and died in 976 A.D. This work has been published in Leyden in 1897 A.D. Al-Maqqarī says that: 'Arīb b. Sa'd al-Qurtubī has written the Kitāb Ikhtisār Tā'rikh al-Tabarī in such a manner that he has succeeded to delight the people and has added the history of Ifrīqiyyah and al-Andalus to it.<sup>2</sup> In the introduction of al-Bayān al-Mughrib Ibn al-'Aghārā<sup>3</sup> has mentioned that he had consulted the abridgement (Mukhtasir) of 'Arīb while writing his work. From the Encyclopaedia of Islām<sup>4</sup> we come to know that the Silah Tā'rikh al-Tabarī is only a part of this abridgement of al-Tabarī's great chronicle.

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1. George Sarton : Introduction to the history of Science 1:680;  
Brockelmann : Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur 1:272  
(Leiden, 1943).
  2. Al-Maqqarī : Harf al-Tib 2:123 (Leiden, 1858-61).
  3. Ibn al-'Aghārā : al-Bayān al-Mughrib 1:2 (Leiden, 1948).
  4. Encyclopaedia of Islām 1 : 431-2.

'Arīb b. Sa'd also wrote a treatise on gynaecology: on the hygiene of pregnant women and infants, and on obstetrics (Khalq al-Janin, creation of the embryo) in 964-65 A.D. and a calendar (Kitāb al-Anwā'<sup>1</sup>).

This work, as is apparent from its title, is a continuation of the history of al-Tabarī. In it the author has covered 30 years of the Abbāsid rule from 291 A.H. to 320 A.H. chronologically. It deals only with two caliphs. Al-Muṭṭafī, who ruled for the first seven years covered by this work, and al-Muqtadir, who occupies the rest of the period. With his death the work comes to an end.

The text of the work is in 186 pages. The author allots space to each year according to the information available to him. The largest number of pages, i.e. 23 and 22, are allotted to the years 309 and 320 A.H. respectively.

From this work we get information about the social and religious conditions of the period along with its political history. At some places we also get hints about the economic conditions of the people. The author has also mentioned some natural calamities which afflicted the region at that time.

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1. George Sarton : Introduction to the History of Science  
1 : 680; Brockelmann : Geschichte der Ar.Litt. 1 : 272.

Under each year first he narrates events of political and social importance giving priority to the date of their occurrence. Then he mentions the names of those important persons who died during the year with a short biographical note on the most important ones. He ends the account of each year with the name of the person who led the people to Hajj in that year.

As has been mentioned, in this work we get information about many a social and political incident which occurred in different parts of the 'Abbasid empire during this period. The author presents the events one after another in such a manner that the reader finds it difficult to understand the relationship between these events. The vastness of the 'Abbasid Empire also makes it difficult for the reader to understand the happenings clearly and properly so this work serves only the purpose of a historical yearbook and nothing else.

I may quote below some events of political or social importance from this work.

Political torture was the order of the day in the 'Abbasid society. A bitter example of this occurred during 291 A.H. The author has described<sup>1</sup> how the Gharāmīyah and certain other prisoners were collected at one place and tortured

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1. 'Arīb b. Sa'd : *Silāh Tā'rikh al-Tabarī* : 4-6.

mercilessly before they were brutally murdered. Their hands, legs and heads were cut one by one.

The Kurds were a source of trouble for the 'Abbāsids and rose in arms against them. In the following extract we are informed about this:

ولمّا ورد الخبر بمؤبى أبى العباس جد الله بن حمدان بالموصل  
ومعه جماعة من الأكراد وكانوا أخواله لأن أمه كردية وأما  
الجد أهل الموصل فقتلت بينهم قتلة عظيمة

(In this year came the news of the attack of Abū al-Hayjā 'Abd Allāh b. Hamdān on al-Mawṣil and there was a group of the Kurds with him. They were his maternal uncle because his mother was a Kurdish woman. The (Abbāsīd army helped the people of al-Mawṣil against the invaders) and so severe fighting took place between them<sup>1</sup>).

The Turkish attack on the Muslims of Khurāsān in the year 301 A.H. has been mentioned in the following extracts:

وفي هذه السنة غارت الأتراك على المسلمين بخراسان فبغت  
بهم نحو عشرين ألفاً

(In this year the Turks attacked the Muslims of Khurāsān and took from them about 20,000 people<sup>2</sup> as prisoners of war).

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1. 'Arīb b. Sa'd : Ṣiḥḥ Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī : 42.

2. Ibid. : 43.



About another tumult that occurred in 302 A.H. in another part of the Empire the following information has been provided: In the Rajab of this year the Sultān received a letter from Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Miḥḥarā'i from Egypt saying that a battle had taken place between the supporters of the Sultān and the army of the ruler of al-Qayrawān. In it 7,000 Shī'ites were killed and about the same number were imprisoned. The remaining were defeated and fled away. A majority of them died before they could reach Barqa.<sup>1</sup>

From this work we also understand that even among the ministers of al-Muqtadir there were enemies of the 'Abbāsids. One such example is that of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt, the Vizīr of al-Muqtadir. He was accused of keeping contacts with the non-Arabs and asking them to attack Baghdad. As a punishment for this the Vizīr was imprisoned, the houses owned by him and all his and his family's possessions were confiscated and plundered. His wives and the wives of other members of his family were scolded and abused by the police.<sup>2</sup>

At another place<sup>3</sup> the author, while describing the destruction of a minister's house by fire, throws light on the expensive buildings which were built in those days. He says that for

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1. 'Arīb b. Sa'd : *salah Ta'rikh al-fabari* : 48.

2. Ibid : 36-37.

3. Ibid. : 154.

constructing this building on the bank of the river Tigris the minister had spent 200,000 dīnārs.

The account of the year 309 A.H. is fully occupied by different stories about al-Hallāj who claimed to be a prophet. He became a great threat to the Empire internally. But his ultimate fate has been mentioned as that he was murdered in a cruel manner after receiving a thousand flogs. His hands, legs<sup>1</sup> and head were cut and his body was burnt.

ʿArīb b. Saʿd has described the life of the nobles under the ʿAbbāsids at many places in this work. The account of a royal marriage feast which took place in 306 A.H. has been given in the following extract:

وَوَقَّتْ ابْنَةُ النَّاسِمِ بْنِ مَيْدٍ إِلَهُ إِلَى ابْنِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ الْمَكِّيِّ بِاللَّهِ  
فَصَلَّتْ لَهَا وَلِيَّةُ الْوَلَدِ نَيْمًا مَالِ جَلِيلٍ نَزَدَ طَى عَمْرٍو الْفِ دِينَارٍ  
(The daughter of al-Nāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh was  
married to Abū Ahmad b. al-Muṭṭarī Billāh. A  
marriage feast was arranged to them in which a  
great amount of money was spent which exceeded<sup>2</sup>  
20,000 dīnārs).

The following is an example of a royal gift presented to al-Muqtadir by the ruler of ʿUman :

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1. ʿArīb b. Saʿd : Ṣaḥāḥ Tāʾrīkh al-Jabarī : 95.
  2. Ibid : 76.

وفيها ودهت هدايا احد من هلال صاحب حان على القصر بالله  
وفيها الوان الطيب ورماع وطراف من طراف البحر فيها طير صيني  
اسود ينكلم الصبح من الهيا بالعديّة والفرسيّة وفيها ظباء سود .

(In this year al-Huqtadir Billāh received the  
gifts of the ruler of 'Umān, Aḥmad b. Hili. These gifts contained various kinds of perfumes, spears and many strange creatures of the sea which include a Chinese black bird which talked more eloquently than the parrot<sup>1</sup> of India and Persia and a black gazelle).

As mentioned above, we also get information in this work about the natural calamities which occurred in those days. The following is one such example regarding a calamity of 297 A.H.:

ولجمادى الاولى من هذا العام وده البحران اركان البيت الاربعة  
فرقت في سحر كانت بمكة وعمر الطواب ولست يترزوم وان كان  
سلاً لم ير ضله في قديم الايام وحديثها .

(In the Jamādī al-awwal of this year the news came that the four corners of the Ka'bah and the area of 'ṭawāf' were drowned in the flood at Makka and the wall of Zamzam was overflowed with water. It was such a flood the like of which was seen neither in the ancient days nor<sup>2</sup> in the present days).

1. 'Arīb b. Sa'd : Silah Ta'rīkh al-Jabari : 68.

2. Ibid. : 33.

The author also makes us aware of many unknown or little known places inside the Empire. A few of such places are, al-Tall<sup>1</sup>, Tastur<sup>2</sup>, Jubā<sup>3</sup>, al-Hadīthā<sup>4</sup> and al-Kharab<sup>5</sup>.

The author has collected in this work 163 verses of different poets.

The following is a short account of the other works of the same category which were written during this period along with the account of their authors. As far as I know these works are not available.

Akhbār Mulūk Ifrīqiyyah wa Hurūbuhun by Muḥammad b.

Yūsuf, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Warrāq, a Spanish Historian. His forefathers were from 'wadī al-Hijārah.' He was born in 292/904 and brought up in al-Qayrawān. He lived and died in Cordova in 362/973. He has written a bulky work for al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir on Masālik Ifrīqiyyah wa Mamālikuhā. He has also composed works on history of Tihart, Mahrān, Tūnis, Sijilmāsa and some other places.<sup>6</sup>

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1. 'Asīb b. Sa'd : Silah Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī : 47.

2. Ibid. : 102.

3. Ibid. : 5.

4. Ibid : 171.

5. Ibid. : 58.

6. Al-Humaydī : Jaḥwat al-Muqtadīs : 97; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 8 : 21; Brockelmann : SI:233 (Leiden, 1937).

Tā'riḥ al-Ifriqiyyīn by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Shaḥbānī al-Qarḍī (d. 362/973).<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann attributes to the credit of the author the work "Ulamā' Ifriqiyyah" and says that a manuscript of this work is preserved in the library of Muḥammad b. Sharrāb.<sup>2</sup> Since no other biographer of the author has mentioned this title it seems that both the names may be of the same work.

A his work on history is attributed by al-Ḥabībī to the credit of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ishbīlī Abū 'Umar, known as Ibn al-Ḥarrār, a pious traditionist (d. 373 A.H.).<sup>3</sup>

Tā'riḥ al-Mulūk wa al-Uḥayl by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥamadānī, from Sidūna, nicknamed Abū 'Umar. In Cordova he studied under Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ayyman, Qāsim b. Aḥḥab and others. Then he travelled to the East and continued in journey for ten years. In Egypt he studied under 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. al-Ward, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khayyāḥ and many other reputed scholars. He also studied in Jiddah under al-Ḥasan b. Ḥumayd and Abū 'Ubayd. Ibn al-Farāḡī says that he was an orator and a great man of letters and he had studied under him. Ibn al-Farāḡī was told that he was born in 304 A.H. He died in the year 383 A.H. He has written certain works on religion

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1. Al-Ḥabībī : Taḥkikat al-Muffaḥ 4 : 1001-1002.

2. Brockelmann : Tā'riḥ al-Adab al-'Arabī 3 : 88.

3. Al-Ḥabībī : Muḥyāt al-Mulūk 144.

topics also.<sup>1</sup> No information is available about this work besides its name.

Jāmi'um li'l Aghbar or Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr by 'Abd al-Malik b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Shu'ayb al-Qurṭubī, Abū Marwān. He was born in Cordova in 323/935. He was unparalleled in the knowledge of history, language and poetry in his time. He was a minister and companion of the kings. He died in Cordova in the year 393/1003. The work under study, arranged chronologically, beginning from the year 40 A.H. and ending during the author's period, was written in more than hundred volumes.

#### B i o g r a p h i e s :

In this category we get 21 titles of works written during the 10th century. Out of them only two are biographies of the individuals and the rest are biographical dictionaries. The writing of biographical dictionary, which started during the 9th century A.D., developed considerably during this century. Some biographical dictionaries contained the accounts of people belonging to a particular class while others of those belonging to different classes such as Ḥujjāb, Mawālī, Fuqahā', Qaḥṭ, Muḥaddithīn, al-Muḥṭ wa al-Lughawīyyīn, Shu'arā', Aḥibbā' and

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1. Ibn al-Faragī : Tā'rīkh al-'Ulamā' No. 1636.

2. Ibn Saḥkūn : al-Sīlah : 349; Ismā'īl Bāshā : Ḥudayāt al-'Arāḥīn : 624-5; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4 : 300.

**Falāsifah.** Again some of them covered of the whole of Spain while others covered a particular place there. Biographies were written about the people belonging to other countries also. But, unfortunately, only three works of this category have been published. In the **quṭṭ** **qurtubah** the biographies are arranged chronologically. The **Tā'riḫ al-Aṭibbī' wa al-Ḥakamī'** is the first biographical account of the physicians and philosophers written in Muslim Spain. It covers people belonging to different countries and different ages. Through the **Tā'riḫ al-<sup>al-</sup>Ulamā'** al-Andalus Ibn al-Faradī introduced the system of writing biographies in alphabetical order and became the initiator of a series of biographical dictionaries written in this style in Spain.

**Kitāb al-quṭṭ bi-qurtubah** by **Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Khaghā' al-Qarawī**. **Al-Khaghā'** was born in **al-Qayrawān**.<sup>1</sup> No one of his biographers has given the year of his birth. In **al-Qayrawān** he studied under **Aḥmad b. Ziyād** and **Aḥmad b. Naṣr**. He studied fiqh under quite a few teachers of **Ifriqiyyah**. Then, in a very young age, he went to Spain in 312 A.H. and at Cordova continued his education under **Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ayyan**, **Qāsim b. Asbagh**, **Aḥmad b. 'Ubadah**, **Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Lubābah**,<sup>2</sup> **Aḥmad b. Ziyād**, **al-Ḥasan b. Sa'id** and a group of other teachers. He was a historian, jurist, traditionist and poet.<sup>3</sup> **Caliph**

1. Brockelmann : **Tā'riḫ al-Adab al-'Arabī** 3 : 86.

2. Ibn al-Faradī : **Tā'riḫ al-'Ulamā'** 1 : 404.

3. Ibid; **al-jabbī** : **Bughyat al-Mulṭamīs** : 61 (Madrid, 1206);

**Yāqūt**: **Istihād al-Arib** 6:472-73; **al-Zirkillī** : **al-A'lām** 6:303.

al-Hakam al-Mustansir had appointed him a tutor of the orphans in Bajjānah, near al-Misryah. After the death of al-Mustansir he was removed from this post. Then he started earning his lively hood from the business of drugs. He wrote many books for the Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mustansir Billāh and also composed a hundred dīwāns for him. Besides the work under study we get the following titles of his works (1) Kitāb al-Ittiḥāq wa'l Iḥṣāʾ Iḥṭilāl fī Maḥabbatī Mālik; (2) Kitāb al-Fityā; (3) al-Ḥaseb; (4) Kitāb Tā'rīkh al-Andalus; (5) Tā'rīkh al-Ifrīqiyyān and (6) Akhbār al-Fuqahā' wa'l Muḥaddithīn. Al-Ḥasebī has not mentioned the name of the work under review. Instead he has mentioned Kitāb Tā'rīkh al-Andalus which has not been mentioned by other writers. Hence it seems to be possible that he might have mixed up Kitāb Tā'rīkh al-Andalus with Kitāb al-Quṣṣat bi'l Qurtubah. Al-Ḥasebī died in Cordova on 13 safar, 302 A.H. But al-Zirkillī has written that he died after 303/976. The first version seems to be more reliable.

As is apparent from the title, this work is a biographical dictionary of the judges of Cordova from the early Muslim

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1. al-Ḥasebī : Taḥḍīr al-Ḥuffāṣ 4:1001-1002; al-Zirkillī : al-I'ṭm 6:303; Brockelmann : Tā'rīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī 3:82.
  2. Ibn al-Faragī : Tā'rīkh al-'Ulamā' 1:404; al-Ḥasebī : Taḥḍīr al-Ḥuffāṣ 4:1001-1002.
  3. al-Ḥasebī : Taḥḍīr al-Ḥuffāṣ 4:1001-1002; al-Zirkillī : al-I'ṭm 6 : 303.
  4. Ibn al-Faragī : Tā'rīkh 'Ulamā' 1 : 404.
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period upto the year 358 A.H. arranged chronologically. About the contents of the work and the reason which made him write this work the author himself says in its introduction<sup>1</sup> that when he was asked by the Amīr al-Mustansir to compose a work on the qādis of Cordova under the caliphs or under their governors, he met those people who had some knowledge about their lives and learnt from them incidents which could be useful for the posterity. He claim that it would be a new work about the qādis of a great city like Cordova. He has also mentioned that in Spain there were such persons who were offered the post of qādi but they refused to accept it lest they might not be able to perform their duties well and, as a result of it, might be punished in the life hereafter. He has devoted to them a special chapter at the beginning of the work. Then, in succeeding chapters, he has dealt with those persons who actually performed the duties of the qādis and has given their account one by one.

This is a short work in 207 pages. The actual text starts from page eight. In the beginning the author has written an introduction in four pages. As he himself has mentioned, he

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(Continued from the previous page)

8. al-Zirkilī : al-A'lam 6 : 300.

1. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥarith al-Kharrāzī : Kitāb al-qūḍāt bi-qurṭubah : 6-8 (Madrid, 1924).

has first written the account of those persons who were appointed as qadis but refused to accept the post. They were 13 in number. Their account covers ten pages. From page 13 onwards he gives the account of the judges chronologically. In this way he has given the account of 44 judges. But seven of them were appointed twice.

In this work Ḥarith al-Dhahabī allots space to his subjects according to their importance. Generally he has dealt with them in length. But in a few cases, where he could not gather enough material, he has written less than one page about each of them. Such persons were only four in number, while to the following thirteen he has allotted much larger space. The number of pages is given in brackets after each name. Mahdī b. Husayn (6 pages), al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd (6) Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Lahmī (7), Is'ād b. Sulaymān al-Ḥārīqī (7) Aslam b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (7), Yahyā b. Mu'awwar (9), Muḥammad b. Salim (9), Mu'awiyah b. Ḥalīf al-Hafṣī (10), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd (10), Aḥmad b. Baḡīy b. Muḥammad b. Yaqūb (10), 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh (12), Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-Ma'fārī (16) and Sulaymān b. Aswad (25). The rest of the biographies have between one and five pages for each person.

As this work deals with a particular section of the Spanish society, the horizon of the author is limited. Moreover, the author has not taken the trouble to give a detailed biographical account of his subjects. He has given account of their lives only during the period when they were qadis at Cordova and

that too only in a few cases otherwise he has mainly stuck to their qualities as qādis or jurists. In this manner in each biography he gives the name of the person with a short genealogy, the place to which he originally belonged, the name of the place where he later settled, the name of the ruler who appointed him a qādī, how his appointment was made, one or more specimens of his important judgements, his relation with the ruler and the account and date of his retirement or death.

The post of the qādī of Cordova, which was the capital during this period, was an exalted post. Naturally, only eminent persons could be appointed on this post. While dealing with the activities of these eminent persons and the efforts of the rulers to select appropriate persons for the job, the author throws much light on the judicial, religious, political and, in some cases, cultural history of Cordova particularly and of Spain generally during this period.

As we understand from this work, the judiciary and politics were not separate from religion at that time. All the three were closely linked with one another. A majority of the rulers were hesitant to deviate from the path of Islām as was the case with politics. Most of these rulers wanted their qādis also to adhere strictly to the tenets of Islām. But there are examples that even if a ruler asked a qādī to do something according to his wish and not according to the

teachings of Islām, the qādī was not prepared to deviate from the path of Islām though it might cost him a lot. The following quotation is from a lengthy code of conduct (in four pages) written when 'Uqbah b. al-Hajjāj appointed Mahdī b. Muslim as the qādī of Cordova asking him to be a strict follower of Islām. It begins as:

هذا ما عهد به طيبة بن الحجاج الى معدى بن مسلم حين ولاه القضاء عهد  
اليه بطوى الله واثار طاعته واتباع مرضاه في سر امره وعلانيه مراقباته  
مستمرا لحقبة الله مصلحا بحكمه النقيض وحرره التوفى بها بمعدى  
طولا طيه واتقاه بظلمته فان الله مع الذين اتقوا والذين هم محسنون

(This is what 'Uqbah b. al-Hajjāj enjoined on Mahdī b. Muslim when he appointed him as qādī : he made him promise to be afraid of Allāh, to prefer His obedience, to follow His dictates both secretly and publicly, to be watchful regarding His will, to be conscious of the fear of God, to hold steadfastly His strong rope and firm handle, to fulfil promises made to Him, to have faith and confidence in Him and to fear Him. Verily Allāh is with those people who fear Him and those who do good deeds).

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1. Kharrāj al-Kharrāj : Kitāb al-quḍāt bi-qurtubah : 19.

The following quotation throws light on the fact that Islām was propagated in Spain officially:

ولى الامير عليه بن الحجاج السلطان فكان صاحب جلال ورياسة وذا بعدة  
رياس ورجة في ثكابة المعركين وكان اذا اسرا اسير لم يقتله حتى يبرهن  
عليه الاسلام حينما ويرغبه فيه ويحضره الفقه ويبين له محبب دينه الذي  
هو عليه فيذكر انه اسلم على يديه بذلك الفصل الثاني رجل .

(ʿUqbah b. Salih became the governor of Spain. He took part in holy wars and was a man of self control, courage and strength and was inclined to vanquish polytheists. If one of them was imprisoned he did not kill him until he presented Islam to him, invited him to it, made him see its good qualities and explained to him the defects of the religion which he followed. It is said that due to this act on his part 2000 men accepted Islam on his hand).

In the following quotation the author informs us that ʿUqbah b. Salih was not economically well-off due to his strict adherence to the tenets of Islam which forbade him to accept presents from others. The author says:

قال محمد بن عمر بن لياحة انبت القاسم محمد بن سلطه فلم ارى له دوا ولا  
الاما مكسورة فاحذت مع نفسي الاما حسانا كانت عندي وبيعها واتيته بها  
فليس من ليولها وقال لو كنت مقبلا لعدية لقلت هديتك وودعا على .

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1. ʿUqbah b. Salih : Kitāb al-quḍāt bi-qurṭubah : 19.

(Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Luḥābah said: I went to the qāḍī Muḥammad b. Salmaḥ. I could not see in his inkpot pens which were not broken. So I took with me some good pens which I possessed, nibbed them and presented them to him. But he refused to accept them and said, "If I was in the habit of accepting gifts I would have accepted your gift also." Then he returned them to me).

On the otherhand, at one place, <sup>2</sup> Ḥarīth al-Khaghānī has criticised the son of qāḍī 'Abd Allāh for misusing his father's position and accepting gifts from the people. He has also been accused of defrauding and swindling money which was entrusted to the court of justice.

'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh was the first Mawālī to be appointed as qāḍī of Cordova during the rule of Amīr Muḥammad. This appointment caused resentment among the Arabs. While explaining this <sup>3</sup> the author says that the Arabs refused to offer prayers behind him. Ultimately the caliph had to surrender. He appointed al-Ḥumayrī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faraj to lead the prayers.

At another place the author has mentioned that the Amīr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad used to consult his vizīrs before taking

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1. Ḥarīth al-Khaghānī : Kitāb al-quḍāt bi-qurtubah : 103.

2. Ibid. : 142.

3. Ibid. : 117-118.

an important decision. For example, he consulted them when he had to appoint a qāḍī to succeed Muḥammad b. Salmaḥ.<sup>1</sup>

In this work are also contained many judgments by the qāḍīs in different types of cases. The author has quoted in the work thirteen verses from different poets.

Keeping the historical value of the work in mind the author has given due importance to the relationship between the qāḍī and the ruler. I think that this work can better be called the judicial history of Cordova during this period.

Upto page 80 the author has not given any dates but from page 81 he has started giving dates of all the appointments and retirements and also of some other important events. The reason for this is not clear. The first date which he has mentioned is the year '218 A.H.'

The author has tried his level best to collect information from original sources and has mentioned them along with the information. Wherever he fails to get information from original sources, he simply says that the event has been narrated by some one, as for examples:

ذكر بعض أهل العلم ، عن بعض رواة الأخبار ، أخبرني من أنى به  
وما يذكره الناس

The work begins with the biography of Muḥ'ab b. 'Umar and ends in the year 358 A.H. with the biography of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. al-Sulaym.

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1. Barīd al-Khashnī : Kitāb al-ḥudāt bi-ḥurṭubah : 174.

This is the only published work of the author. It has been published in Madrid in 1914 A.D., by Khulayn Ribera.

Ṭabaqāt al-Atibbā' wa-al-Hukamā' by Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān<sup>1</sup>  
b. Ḥassān of Cordova, known as Ibn Juljul. He was born in 338 A.D. In the year 343 A.H., when he was ten years of age, he, along with his brother Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, studied ḥadīth in Cordova under Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl al-Ḥimārī, Abū al-Ḥasan Waḥb b. Muḥarrab and others. Later he studied under Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Sadarī al-Muntaḥalī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Hishām, Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, and al-Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Wārith. He studied Arabic language, especially the book of Sibawayh, in 368 A.H. under Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Rabā'ī. Then he studied under Abū Bakr b. al-Jūṭīyyah, Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Muḥammad, the jurist, and others. He also studied medicine and became well known in this field.<sup>2</sup> He was the court physician of the Umayyad ruler of Spain, Hishām II Mu'ayyad bilalāh (976-1009 AD).<sup>3</sup> His exact date of death is not known. The editor of Ṭabaqāt al-Atibbā' wa-al-Hukamā', Fu'ād Sayyid, says that he died after

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1. al-Ḥumaydī : Jaḥiz al-Muqtadīs : 235 (Egypt, 1936); al-ḥabī : Jaḥiz al-Muqtadīs : 235.

2. Fu'ād Sayyid : Introduction to the Ṭabaqāt al-Atibbā' wa-al-Hukamā' (Cairo, 1935).

3. George Barton Introduction to the History of Science 1:681.



the year 384 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

Ṭabaqāt al-Atibbā' w-al-Ḥukamā' was written on the request of one of the noblemen of Spain whose name is not given. The text of this work consists of only about 40 pages. But the foot notes added by Fu'ād Sayyid have increased the bulk of the book to 116 pages. The editor has also written an introduction in 38 pages in which he has given the life history of the author and discussed the merits of the work and its sources. The work has been published in Cairo in 1955.

In this work Ibn Juljul has given the account of the life of 57 great physicians and philosophers who lived in the world 'from the time of Ādam to his own time, i.e. the period of al-Mu'ayyad Ḥillāh in Spain.<sup>2</sup>' The author has divided the work into nine chapters, each dealing with a particular category of physicians and philosophers. In the first category he has included the five most ancient and high ranking physicians and philosophers. They are: (1) Hurmuz I who lived before the flood of Noah, (2) Hurmuz II of Babilonia who came after the flood, (3) Hurmuz III of Egypt, (4) Isqiliyūn of Egypt and (5) Abūlun, also known as Abūlūn, who was the first philosopher to pay attention to medicine in al-Rūm and Greece. In the second

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1. Fu'ād Sayyid : Introduction to the Ṭabaqāt al-Atibbā' w-al-Ḥukamā'.

2. Ibn Juljul : Ṭabaqāt al-Atibbā' w-al-Ḥukamā' : 116.

category he has included the six great Greco-Roman physicians and philosophers. They are (1) Hippocrate (Bugarāt or Abqarāt), (2) Dioscorides (3) Plato (4) Aristotle (5) Socrates and (6) Democritus. In the third category he has included three physicians and philosophers who flourished <sup>in</sup> Greece after the liquidation of the Persians. They are (1) Batlamyūs; (2) Q<sup>a</sup>lūn<sup>(Cato)</sup> and (3) Euclides (Aqtidas). In the fourth category he has given only the account of Jālinūs, a Greek physician who lived under Caesar after the foundation of the Roman Empire. He has reserved the fifth category for the philosophers of Alexandria. He says, when the kingdom of Jesus Christ came into existence and his message spread to the Roman Empire there appeared a group of philosophers in Alexandria who studied the ancient works minutely and critically and abridged the books of Jālinūs. The most prominent among them was Inqilā'us al-Ikhnadārānī. In the sixth category he has mentioned four persons who were neither Romans nor Syrians nor Persians. They are: (1) al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah al-Iḥqafī; (2) Ibn Abī Rughayh al-Ḥ Tanīmī; (3) Ibn Abīhar and (4) Mūsarjūyah. He has reserved the last three chapters, 7th to 9th, mainly for the Muslim period. In these chapters he has included the largest number of biographies. In the seventh category he has given the biographies of twelve scholars who excelled in medicine and philosophy and in the eighth category he has given the biographies of three philosophers

of al-Haghrīb. In the last category he has given the account of 23 Spanish physicians and philosophers.

The author has written an introduction to this work in about one page and also a conclusion of the same length. As has already been mentioned, the work extends to only about 40 pages. Due to the brevity of the work Ibn Juljul could not include lengthy biographies in it. There is only one biography which covers the maximum length of three pages; three biographies cover two pages each and eleven biographies between one and a half page and one page each. The rest of the biographies are in less than one page and some of them are in two or three lines only.

About the contents of this work the author himself says that <sup>1</sup> he has included in it philosophers and physicians of both the East and the West who lived from the time of Ādam to his own time, i.e., the period of al-Mu'ayyad Lillāh in Spain. He also says that from the East he has not included anyone from the kingdom of al-Rūqī to the days of al-Tāyī Lillāh because they did not come within the scope of his work. Moreover, in spite of the prosperity of their kingdoms there were no men of great repute at that time. He confined himself only to the well known people of al-Andalus. He has tried his level best to make these accounts as short as possible so that the reader may not get bored

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1. Ibid : 116.

As the author himself says in the conclusion, he has to shortened these biographies as far as possible and made them an interesting reading. The contents of these biographies generally consist of the name of the person followed by the names of one or at the most two of his ancestors, the religion he professed, the country to which he belonged and the period in which he lived. In most of the cases the name of the ruler of his country at his time and the nature of his relation with the ruler are also given. Regarding the nature of his relation with the ruler it is mentioned if he was a court physician or he was not interested in serving the ruler. Light has also been thrown on his main field of work and his excellence in this field. In case he had written books, the names of the most important of these books are given. If the person concerned met death in an unnatural way, its cause and manner are mentioned.

Since the work starts from the very ancient period of human history, the author could not afford to provide the dates or years of events mentioned in it. Only in the last three biographies we get the following years in which certain important events occurred : 330 A.H., 351 A.H., 367 A.H. and 360 A.H.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid : 112-113.

2. Ibid : 115.

One speciality of this work, which is rarely found in other biographical works of the Spanish Muslim writers, is that the author has included in it the biographies of Persons professing various religions. This may be due to the subject matter of the work.

As far as the sources of this work are concerned, the author has relied on both verbal and written accounts. Among the written works from which he has drawn information the following are included: (1) Kitāb al-Ulūf by Abū Ma'ghar, (2) Kitāb Harūshīh and (3) Kitāb al-Qarānīqah both by Yafūn al-Tarjūmān.

This work contains many philosophical thoughts and various methods of treatment for different diseases. We came to know from this work that the persons whose biographies are included in it were interested in subjects like Mathematics, astronomy, engineering, geography, poetry, philosophy and medicine.

Though short, it is an informative and valuable work in its field. Moreover, it was the first attempt in Muslim Spain to write the biographies of physicians and philosophers belonging to different countries and different ages in a single volume.

Kitāb al-'Ulūf wa-al-Rumt lil 'Ilm bi'l Andalus by  
Abu'l Walīd 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naḥr al-Amī b. al-

**Faradī**, an Andalusian Scholar. He was born at Cordova on the night of Monday-Tuesday, 22-3 Dhū'l Qa'da, 351/22-3 December 962<sup>1</sup>. He studied law, traditions, literature and history in his native town, particularly under Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā b. Mālik b. 'A'īsh and Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Kharṣān<sup>2</sup>. Other eminent teachers under whom he studied were Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Mufarrīj al-Qāḍī, Muḥammad b. Abī Dulaym, Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Ayyūb and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ma'sūm<sup>3</sup>. In 382/992 he went to the East to perform the pilgrimage, and, when passing through Qayrawān, attended the lectures of the juriconsult, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Safarī and those of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Khalef known as al-Jāhiz<sup>4</sup>. He studied further in Cairo, Mecca and Medina. Thereafter he stayed in Egypt and Tunisia. On his return to Spain

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1. 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālāh : Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn 6:146 (Damascus, 1951), al-Bustānī : Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif 3:438 (Beirut, 1960); al-Shamṣī and others : Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyah 1:254; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4:236.
  2. Al-paḥḥī : Buḥyāt al-Multanī : 321; al-Shamṣī and others: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyah 1:254.
  3. Al-paḥḥī : Buḥyāt al-Multanī : 321; al-Ḥababī : Taḥḍīrah al-Muḥḍar 3 : 1076.
  4. Aḥmad Azīz : Zubr al-Islām : 278; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4:236; Yūsuf Ilyūn Sarkīs : Mu'jam al-Matbū'āt : 204.

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in 1009 A.D. he taught for some time in Cordova, then was appointed qāḍī of Valencia in the reign of the Marwānīd ruler Muḥammad al-Mahdī.<sup>1</sup> He was killed in his house when Cordova was conquered and sacked by the Berbers on Monday, 6 Shawwāl, 403/20 April, 1013.<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Faradī<sup>3</sup> was highly learned in law, tradition, literature and history. He was a poet too. The names of his other works are (1) Al-Mughṭalīf wa'l Mu'talīf (2) Akḥḥār Shu'arā' al-Andalus and (3) al-Mutashāḥḥah.

Ibn al-Faradī is best known for the work under study.<sup>4</sup> The scrupulous exactitude of this work and the abundant

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(Continued from the previous page)

5. al-Dhahabī : Bugḥyat al-Muṭamīz : 321; al-Dhahabī : Taḥḍīrah al-Huffās 3 : 1076.
6. Ibid.
1. al-Dhahabī : Taḥḍīrah al-Huffās 3 : 1076; al-Haqqarī : Naḥḥ al-Ṭib I, II : 329; al-Bustānī : Dā'irat al-Ma'ārīf 3:498; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4:266.
2. Ibn Khallikān : Maḥayāt al-A'yān 2:290; al-Dhahabī : Taḥḍīrah 3:1076; Ibn Farḥūn : al-Dībāj : 143; al-Haqqarī : Naḥḥ al-Ṭib 2:329; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4:266.
3. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 762.
4. Encyclopaedia of Britannica 11 : 1012.

information which it provides made Ibn al-Faragī the initiator of a series of biographical studies embracing the whole of the Iberian Peninsula. This work became so popular that it was continued and amplified in the course of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries by Ibn Baḡkūnī under the title *Ṣiḡa*<sup>1</sup>. Ibn Abḡr, in his turn, supplemented the *Ṣiḡa* with *Takmilah al-Ṣiḡa* down to the middle of the 7th/13th century. Then Abū Ja'far Muḡammad b. al-Zubayr wrote the final supplement of this work under the title *Ṣiḡa al-Ṣiḡa* in the 8th/14th century. An incomplete manuscript of *Ṣiḡa al-Ṣiḡa*, belonging to the library of the famous bibliophile Ṣidī Muḡammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, was edited by Lévi-Provençal in a partial edition<sup>2</sup> beginning with the letter 'ayn (Paris, 1937).

In the introduction the author has discussed in detail the contents of the work, the reason for writing it and its aim. He says that in this work he has collected the accounts of the<sup>3</sup> jurists, learned men, narrators and the other notable personalities of Spain briefly in alphabetical order. By doing so he was fulfilling his old desire to write a book on the cities of

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1. al-Maqqarī : *Maḡāz al-ḡib* 2:329; Ibn Khallikān : *Maḡayāt* 2:290.
  2. *Encyclopaedia of Islām* 3 : 782.
  3. Ibn al-Faragī : *Tā'riḡh al-'Uḡalā'* : 8-9.



Spain giving their whole account which covered both historical events and fables.

Tā'riḥ al-'Uḥāḍ contains biographies of the distinguished Spaniards and those non-Spaniards who visited Spain since the early Islamic period. He has dealt with as many people as he could from all walks of life in it. He has attached special importance and done full justice to the distinguished religious personalities. Amīrs, governors and judges also occupy equally important position. Along with them the literary figures, authors, poets, historians, jurists, grammarians and the like also occupy a high position in this work. Due consideration is shown to the mathematicians, medics and merchants too. In short, he has not left out any individual who was important in any manner. Dealing with the achievements of the people of varied importance and interests in various fields, the work provides us valuable information on culture, literature and religious trends of the period covered by it. In it we get a glimpse of the social, political and religious conditions of Spain since the early Islamic period upto his own days.

Tā'riḥ<sup>al</sup> al-'Uḥāḍ is in two volumes of unequal length. Both the volumes together cover 1681 biographies. Out of them 1091 biographies are in the first volume and the rest in the second. The first volume consists of 457 pages and the second of 270

pages. The account of the people is given according to their names in alphabetical order.

The first volume of *Tārīkh 'Ulamā'* begins with a preface by the editor, al-Sayyid 'Isḥāq al-'Attār al-Husaynī, in five pages. In it he has given a short biographical sketch of the author and has quoted a few verses by him. It is followed by an introduction in eight pages by Ibn al-Faraj himself. The author has started it with the praise of Allāh and then has prayed for the Prophet and his family. After it he has given a detailed account as to why he has written *Tārīkh al-Ulamā'* and what are its contents. He has concluded it after giving short biographical sketches of the rulers of Spain from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'awiyah to the amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'ayyad Ḥillāh Ḥighām b. al-Ḥakam. The first volume includes the biographies which come under the letters 'Aīf' to 'Alm' but the names which fall under the letter 'mā' are missing from it. It begins with the name of Ibrāhīm b. Husayn b. Khālid and ends with that of Layth b. Saḥb' al-Mastajī. The second volume includes the biographies which come under the letters 'Mīm' to 'Yā'. It begins with the name of Ḥālik b. Ma'rūf and ends with that of Yarbū' b. 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Yarbū' al-Murā. .

Under each alphabet the people bearing the same name are dealt with separately and a separate portion is reserved for such names which are not borne by more than one person. Under each

name the author first gives the account of those people who belong to Spain and then of those who came to Spain from outside. In writing these biographies he has strictly followed a uniform pattern. First of all he mentions the name of the person concerned with his genealogy, then he mentions his native place which is followed by 'Kunya' (nickname) and other familiar names, if any, by which the man is known. Then he gives a list of those teachers under whom he has had his education. Then he furnishes other information available to him. At the end he gives the date and year of death of person concerned. Ibn al-Faradī is not very particular in giving the date of birth but sometimes he does mention it. He has pointed out the sources from which he has gathered his information. This is not a common practice with the writers of that period.

The largest number of biographies come under the alphabets 'Alif' (383), 'Ain' (387), 'Mim' (400) and 'Yā' (110). Under 'Alif' persons having the name Ahmad are 152 and Ibrahim 80 in number. Under 'Ain' 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Alī and 'Umar have 22, 42, 21 and 26 names respectively. Under 'Mim' there are 311 persons having the name Muhammad. There are 54 persons having the name Yahyā and 26 the name Yūsuf under 'Yā'. The book contains a large number of short biographies which are not much informative

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1. See Nos. : 222, 23, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 112, 126, 127, 128, 144, 211, 212, 213, 251, 252, 254, 276, 277, 292, 313, 345 and etc.

and hence of little value. The author has devoted space to different persons according to their importance. The longest biographies do not occupy more than three pages. There are only seven persons, namely Baqiy b. Muhiyad, Hannah b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-San'ānī, 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb b. Sulaymān b. Ḥarūn b. Jāhannāh b. 'Abbās b. Hadrās al-Sulamī, a renowned author, 'Abd al-A'īlī b. Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-A'īlī, a mufti of repute, Qāsim b. Asbagh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Māsib b. 'Atā', Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Mufarrīj and Mu'awwadh b. Sulāh (b. Husayr) b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'id b. Sa'id (b. Fihf) al-Badrānī al-Himṣī, a jurist of fame, to whom he has devoted so many pages. There are fourteen persons the length of whose biographies extends to two pages each. The rest of the biographies are of about one page or less.

As has been said earlier, while going through the *Rā'ish al-'Ulum*, we get glimpses of the political, social and religious conditions of Spain during the period covered by it. As far as the political conditions of Spain are concerned, they are already well known and do not require repetition because this work reveals nothing new regarding them. But as far as society and religion are concerned, it throws some new light on them. For example the author has mentioned for the first time that the inhabitants of Spain before the rise of the Umayyads followed the jurist school of thought established by al-Awānī and Zuhayr b. Malik was a prominent jurist of this school.

The highest government posts were <sup>1</sup>Abkām al-Shurṭah, <sup>2</sup>Abkām al-Sūq and <sup>3</sup>Abkām al-Qadā. <sup>4</sup>Muftis and Jurists occupied a respectable position in the society. The <sup>5</sup>Shāh al-Jalīl <sup>6</sup>was also shown due respect.

There flourished a well developed community of merchants in Spain at that time. They transacted business with distant countries like India, <sup>7</sup>'Irāq, <sup>8</sup>Egypt <sup>9</sup>etc. But we come across the biography of only one farmer, i.e. <sup>10</sup>'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Mughīlī in this work.

Though slavery prevailed in Spain, yet due consideration was shown to slaves in general. At the same time slaves were considered a part of property. For example about Marwān b. 'Abd

1. Nos. 168, 190, 208, 226, 331, 767, 1328, 1353, 1406, 1431, and 1483.

2. Nos. 216, 267, 351 and etc.

3. Nos. 20, 110, 280 and 416.

4. Nos. 28, 47, 69, 209, 210, 221, 230, 277, 278, 309, 330, 367, 368, 378, 383, 509, 512, 544 and 700.

5. Nos. 19, 45, 130, 131, 133, 159, 206, 208, 212, 225, 236, 247, 248, 274, 299, 311, 333, 337, 338, 344, 381, 383, 407 and 451.

6. Nos. 29, 33, 56, 63, 76, 130, 133, 143, 145, 176, 185, 209, 226, 281, 299, 402, 491 and 501.

7. No. 686.

8. No. 1289.

9. No. 128.

10. Nos. 134, 237, 287, 764, 1243, 1251, 1423, 1427, 1506 etc.

al-Malik b. al-Fakh<sup>1</sup> it is said that he possessed twenty  
maids each of whom was of the worth of five hundred dinars.

People used to take intoxicants freely. But Ibn al-  
Faraj<sup>2</sup> says about Hibshan b. Abi Jahsh al-Qurashi<sup>3</sup> that he advised  
people: "Do not salute those who drink wine". From this we  
realise that though drinking was disapproved by pious men, yet  
there did exist a strong opposition to the use of intoxicants.

The statement about Muhammad b. Qasim b. Muhammad b.  
Qasim b. Sayyar<sup>3</sup> that he took part in the battle of trench  
explains that the trench war system prevailed there.

Leprosy<sup>4</sup> and Paralysis<sup>5</sup> were the two major fatal diseases.  
Another disease we frequently come across in this book was  
gout.<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the work we find that a good number of eminent  
teachers flourished in Spain as well as at other places like  
Makkah, Madinah, Egypt, 'Irāq, Qayrawān, Khurāsān and Syria.

In the field of education the important subjects were  
the Qur'ān, traditions of the Prophet, jurisprudence and grammar.

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1. No. 1415.

2. No. 383.

3. No. 1218.

4. Ibid, No. 740.

5. Ibid Nos. 112, 754, 820, 854 and 1386.

6. Ibid No. 1380.

Mathematics and history were also taught sometimes.

Generally the author has dealt with men of piety in this work. He has also devoted considerable space to persons possessing other qualities, such as bravery and generosity. For example in the biography of Qar'aw b. al-'Abbās b. Qar'aw b. 'Ubayd b. Munqir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī<sup>1</sup> he has appreciated the moral courage of the father of Qar'aw and has said that he was the Supervisor of markets in Spain. One day when he was coming out of the mosque he happened to see a servant of Sa'id, who was a keen companion of the Amīr Ḥakam or Hishām, bringing wine for them. He asked the servant to throw the wine away and beat him severely. When Sa'id received the news he got angry. But the Amīr, on the other hand, appreciated this act and considered it a source of strength to his kingdom.

A few of his remarks about the religious people are being quoted below:

About Khalaf b. Sa'id al-Muḥayy<sup>2</sup> he says:

حكي عنه أنه كان يحتم القرآن في كل ليلة .

(It is related about him that every night he used to recite the whole Qur'ān).

About Zay'ah b. 'Uthman b. Hishām<sup>3</sup> he says:

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1. Ibid. No. 1084.

2. Ibid., No. 405.

3. Ibid., No. 465.

وكان يحفظ عشرين حديثاً في ساعة .

(He memorised twenty sayings of the Prophet within one hour).

About Sulaymān b. 'Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. Hakan b. 'Abd Allāh b. Balkhish al-Qutaybi he says:<sup>1</sup>

وكان زاهداً متواضعاً كثير البكاء .

(He was a humble ascetic and used to weep frequently).

About 'Ubaid Allāh b. Yahyā b. Idri's he says:<sup>2</sup>

وكان أمّام الشرطة ثم ولى الوزارة لما زادته هذه الخطط الرعية  
إلا تواضعاً وفناً وكان يؤتى في مسجده وهو وزير .

(He was given charge of the police and then was appointed as a minister. These high positions only increased humility and kindness in him. When he was a minister he used to call for prayers in his mosque).

About Hanafī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bannā'ī he says:<sup>3</sup>

أنه كان إذا فرغ من عشاءه وحوائجه وأراد السكون من الليل  
أخذ المسحوق وغرب أناه فيه ماءً فكان إذا وجد الناس  
استنشق الماء وإذا تمسكها في آية تعرض في المصحف .

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1. Ibid., No. 566.

2. Ibid., No. 757.

3. Ibid., No. 391.



(when he intended to offer night prayers after taking his supper and completing other tasks he lighted the lamps and kept water near him in a vessel. He inhaled water if he felt drowsy and looked in to the Qur'ān if he failed to remember any verses).

He has written about 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hūmā al-Hawārīyy, a man of learnings

ولقد ابدل سدرأ من سفره لمطب ببحر دهر فذهب كبه  
قدم اسفة : انا امله يختوره بدويه و يختونه من ذهب كبه  
نقال لهم : ذهب البحر وبقى الدار يعني ما في صدره .

(He entered Spain returning from his journey and in the sea of Tuniar he had nearly perished and had lost his books when he entered Istijah the members of his family came to him congratulating him on his arrival and exclaiming him for the loss of the books. He said to them, the wallet has gone and the scroll is left. By "the scroll" he meant the knowledge which was preserved in his mind).

At the same time he did not ignore such weaknesses as ignorance and greed in important people. So he says about al-

Sabīḥ<sup>1</sup> that he possessed only scanty knowledge" and about 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams that<sup>2</sup> "he had attained a high degree of asceticism and piety; then he went to the East and became inclined towards world and the love of wealth."

Throughout the *Tā'riḥ al-'Ulamā'* we feel an orthodox religious atmosphere. This is not because in Spain of those days such atmosphere actually prevailed; it is rather the reflection of the feelings of the author himself. It was due to his orthodox approach that he has devoted little space to the fair sex in his work. If he has reported<sup>3</sup> the death of al-Kubrā, the mother of the Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'ayyad Bilāl and her burial in the castle of Cordova it was only due to the human nature which tends to give all sorts of information about great people and not because he was favourably inclined towards the members of the fair sex.

In the *Tā'riḥ al-'Ulamā'* Ibn al-Faragī has proved his worth as a historian. As a trend setter his work is of considerable value in the field of biography. Al-Bustānī<sup>4</sup> has expressed the following opinion about this work: It is a precious book

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1. Ibid., No. 743.

2. Ibid., No. 787.

3. Ibid., No. 538.

4. Al-Bustānī : *Dā'irah al-Ma'arif* 3 : 428.

and is regarded among the earliest sources of literary history in Spain. Ibn al-'Imād<sup>1</sup> and Ḥajī Khalīfa<sup>2</sup> also recognise it as a genuine history of Spain.

A short account of those works of this period which fall in the same category but are not available along with the accounts of their authors is being given below. In certain cases only the names of the books and their authors could be found out.

Tabaqāt al-Shu'arā' bi al-Andalus by 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd<sup>3</sup>  
(d. about 310 A.H.).

Atthar al-Shu'arā' al-Andalus by Abu Sa'īd 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd<sup>4</sup>  
al-Kinānī al-Andalusī (d. 300 A.H.).

Atthar al-Qusāt bi al-Andalus by Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥajayrah  
Abū 'Abd Allāh, a jurist, traditionist and traveller of  
Spain. He was living in 330 A.H.

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1. Ibn al-'Imād : Shu'arāt al-Arab 3 : 162.
  2. Ḥajī Khalīfa : Kashf al-Zunūn 1 : 285-86.
  3. Al-Ḥumaydī : Jadwat al-Muqtadīs : 305, al-pabhi : Bughyat al-Multanis : 399; Yāqūt al-Rūmī : Irshād al-Ashāb 5:32-33; al-Zirkillī al-A'īn 4:364.
  4. Isma'īl Hāgā : Kitāb Iqāb al-Makmūn 1:42 (Istanbul, 1945).
  5. al-Pabhi : Bughyat al-Multanis : 61.

Akhhār al-Fuqahā' w-al-Muḥaddithīn by the same author.<sup>1</sup>

Fuqahā' Qurṭubah by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Harr, Abu 'Abd al-Malik, one of the Umayyad Ḥawālī. He was a historian from among the jurists of Cordova. He died in prison in the year 338/950. In the composition of Tā'rikh<sup>2</sup> al-'Ulamā' al-Andalus Ibn al-Faragī made use of this work.<sup>3</sup>

Kitāb Shu'arā' al-Andalus by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ra'ūr b.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥarīd al-Andī, a maula of Cordova, nicknamed Abū 'Abd Allāh and known as Abū Kharrīc. He studied under Aḥmad b. Hishr b. al-Aghbas, Ḥasim b. Ashagh and such other scholars. He was an eloquent writer, linguist and historian. He was stabbed to death in the year 343/954. By compiling this work he fulfilled the ambition of his life.<sup>3</sup>

Ḥawālī al-Andalus by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Baḥr al-Rāzī (d.344/955), author of Tā'rikh Muḥūk al-Andalus.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibn al-Faragī : Tā'rikh al-'Ulamā' 1:37; al-pabbī : Buḥyat al-Multanis : 150-51; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 1:199.

3. Ibn al-Faragī : Tā'rikh al-'Ulamā' 2:64; al-Suyūṭī : Buḥyat al-Mi'āt : 97 (Egypt, 1326 A.H.); Ḥalāh al-Dīn Khallī b. Aybak al-Jafadī : al-Ḥarī bi al-Mafayāt 3:234 (Damascus, 1959 A.D.); al-Zirkilī al-A'lām 7:73.

4. Al-Shantāwī and others : Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyyah 9:447; Brockelmann : Tā'rikh al-Adab al-'Arabī 3 : 86.

Akhbār 'Umar b. al-Faṣṣān by the same author.<sup>1</sup>

Akhbār 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Marwān al-Jalīlī by the same author.<sup>2</sup>

Kitāb al-Hujjāb lil Khulafā' bi'l Andalus by 'Isā b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Husein b. Bashīr al-Rāṣī, son of the author of the above mentioned three works. As its name indicates, this work is a monograph on the ḥajjabs of the Umayyad court of Cordova. No more information is available about this work. 'Isā b. Ahmad also continued his father's Umayyad chronicle down to his own time and extended the portions dealing with earlier periods by using sources which had not been available to Ahmad al-Rāṣī.<sup>3</sup>

Kitāb Tārīkh al-Rijāl by Ahmad b. Sa'īd b. Hanz al-Sadafī (al-Muntajillī), abū 'Umar. He studied under Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Zarrād, Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Wānāqī, Muḥammad b. Qāsim, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mu'mān, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Amr and others. He died in 360 A.H. He has written a voluminous work about the traditionists in which he has collected information from various people about those traditionists whose testimony was acceptable and those whose testimony was not

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1. Brockelmann : Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī 3:86.

2. Ibid.

3. Al-Maqqarī : Nafḥ al-Tib 3:671 (Leyden, 1838-61 A.D.);  
Encyclopedia of Islām 3 : 1137.

<sup>1</sup>  
acceptable.

Riḥāl al-Andalus by Abū al-Ḥāṣim b. Sa'd, Abū al-Ḥāṣim, al-qurṭubī  
(d. 352/963).

Fuḡahā' Ibbīrah by Muṭarrif b. 'Isā b. Labīb b. Muḥammad b.  
Muṭarrif al-Ḥassānī, Abū 'l Ḥāṣim. He originally belonged to  
Elvira but later settled in Granada. He had his education in  
Rijāna under Fadl b. Salma, Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid and others.  
He was a literary man and historian, well versed in the sciences  
of both the Arabs and the non-Arabs and was also a narrator of  
poetry. He was appointed as a qādī of Granada but later was  
from this post. He died in Córdoba and  
removed/his body was carried to Elvira and buried there in  
356 or 357/937.

Shu'arā' Ibbīrah by the same author.

Asnāḥ al-'Arab al-Ḥashīn fī Ibbīrah wa Akḥbārithum by the same  
author.

Akḥbār al-Fuḡahā' u-al-Muḥaddithīn by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b.  
Asad al-Khashnā al-Qarawī (d. 366 A.H.). Except the name no

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1. Al-Qabbā' : Buḡhyat al-Multamīs : 169.

2. Al-Zirkillī : al-A'lām 3 : 333.

3. Ibn al-Faradī : Tā'rīkh al-'Ulamā 2: 12 (Madrid, 1893), Al-  
Suyūṭī : Buḡhyat al-'Uṭ : 392 (Egypt, 1323 A.H.); al-Zirkillī,  
al-A'lām 3 : 154.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Al-Qabbā' : Taḡhīrat al-Huffāḡ 4: 1001-1002; al-Zirkillī,  
al-A'lām 3 : 303.

information is available about this work.

Akḥbār al-Fuqahā' al-Muta'akhḫirīn min Ahlī Qurṭubah by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ishbīlī, Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī. His forefathers belonged to Hims in Syria. He was born in Seville in 316/928 and brought up there. He studied under Qāsim b. Aḥmad, Sa'īd b. Farḥūn, Aḥmad b. Sa'īd and Abū 'Alī al-Baḥḥādī. On the request of al-Mustanṣir Billāh he went to Cordova to teach his son, Hishām al-Mu'ayyad Billāh. Then he was appointed as the qāḍī of Seville and stayed there until his death in Jamādī al-ṭhānī, 379/989. His other works are: (1) al-Maḥḍib (on Grammar); (2) Laḥn al-'Aḥṣā and (3) Muḥtaṣir al-'Ayn.

Tabaqāt al-Lughayyīn wa-al-Fuḥāt al-'Ilīyah wa-al-Andalus:  
by the same author.

Akḥbār Shu'arā' al-Andalus by Abū Ḥalīd 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr al-Andalī b. al-Faraḡī (d. 403/1013),<sup>3</sup> author of Tā'rīkh al-'Ulamā' wa al-Fuḥāt lil 'Ilm bil Andalus.

1. Al-Ḥumaydī : Jaḥwat al-Muḥtabis : 46; Ibn al-Faraḡī : Tā'rīkh al-'Ulamā' 2:93; al-Qabbā : Duḥyat al-Muḥtabis: 56-57; al-Zirkilī al-A'lām 6:312; Ḥājī Khalīlah: Kaḥf al-Zunūn 1:28; Ismā'īl Sāghā: Duḥyat 'Arifīn 2:51.
2. Ibid.
3. Al-Qabbā : Taḥḍirah 3:1076; al-Maqqarī : Naḥḥ al-Ṭib 2:329; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4:263.

## CHAPTER IV

### DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY IN SPAIN DURING ELEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

History writing in Spain reached its zenith during 11th century A.D. Not only many historians flourished there in this century but a large number of the historical books written by them is extant too.

Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076), who wrote al-Muqtadīs in ten volumes and al-Mubīn in 60 volumes, stands out as the greatest historian of Spain. The Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥamā' by Ḥā'id b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) is a very valuable work in the field of history of Sciences. Jawāmi' al-Sīrah' by 'Alī b. Ḥasan (d. 456/1064) is a work of great merit in its field. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the author of the very famous work, 'al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Ashāb', also lived in this period. His two other historical works are also extant. 'Jaḥwāt al-Muqtadīs of al-Ḥusaynī (d. 432/1096) is also a well known biographical dictionary written during this time. The historical books written during this period may be divided broadly in to four branches: (1) History of Spain; (2) General History; (3) History of Sciences and (4) Biography.

#### History of Spain:

In this field it has been possible to trace out only five titles, the most outstanding of them being the work composed by Ibn Ḥayyān.



Kitāb al-Muqtabis fī Tā'rikh Najāl al-Andalus: by Abū Marwān Ḥayyān b. Khalaḥ b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥayyān. He was a native of Cordova. One of his forefathers, Wahb Ibn Ḥayyān, was a slave enfranchised by the Amīr 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'awīya b. Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.<sup>1</sup> He himself has admitted that Abū'l Walīd Ibn Jahwar, ruler of Cordova, rescued him from poverty by appointing him as a letter writer in the government chancery.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khallikān says that Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī speaks of Ibn Ḥayyān in these terms: 'He was a man advanced in age, profound in knowledge, well-versed in literature, the standard bearer of history in Spain, the most eloquent and systematic writer on this subject. He studied under Abū 'Umar Ibn Abī al-Ḥubbāb, the grammarian who was also the teacher of Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, and Abū'l 'Alā Ḥā'id b. al-Ḥasan al-Baḡdādī, whose work the 'Furūḡ,' he learnt directly from him. He also learned traditions from him. He died on Sunday, 27th of the Rabi' al-Awwal, 469 A.H. (October 1076 A.D.) and was buried on the same day after 'Asr prayers in the cemetery of al-Ḥabaq. He was born in 377 A.H. (A.D. 987-8).'<sup>3</sup> al-Ghassānī calls him a faithful historian and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Aun refers to him in

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1. Ibn Khallikān : Maḥayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Ahnā' al-Ḥamān 1 : 497.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islām, 3 : 789.

3. Ibn Khallikān : Maḥayāt al-A'yān 1 : 497.

these terms : Ibn Ḥayyān was eloquent in his speech and writings; he never intentionally included a false statement or narration in his historical writings. After his death I saw him in a dream coming towards me; so I rose to greet him. He saluted me smilingly. Then I asked him : What has thy Lord done to thee? He answered, He has forgiven my sins. 'And the history', said I 'which you wrote; did you repent it?' — 'It is true', he replied, 'I repented it, but the Almighty had mercy on me, rescued me from going down and pardoned me.'<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān's list of works contains no less than fifty titles.<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Anīn says that 'most of his works have been lost.'<sup>3</sup>

In the Encyclopaedia of Islām we find the following statement about the nature and quality of his writings : we know with what extreme virulence he wrote of numerous personalities of his time, his bitterness towards the divisions and anarchy in the kingdoms of the Iwā'il, and also at the scantiness of the sources at his disposal when he was writing the history of his own turbulent century and to set standards for subsequent chroniclers.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. P.K.Hitti : History of the Arabs : 865; Stephen and Wendy Boneht : Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization 2 : 165.

3. Ahmad Anīn : Fuḥr al Islām 3 : 274.

4. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 789.

The above mentioned work is generally known as al-Muqtabis.<sup>1</sup> It is in ten volumes and gives a rich and magnificent panorama of the Cordovan emirate from its beginning till the time of the author.<sup>2</sup>

One manuscript each of this work is preserved in the university of Oxford and in Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> The third part of al-Muqtabis has been published by H.M. Antuna in Paris in 1937 and has been translated into Spanish by Kh. Ghorayyib in Cuadernos de historia Espana, Buenos Aires, 1932.<sup>4</sup>

A Critical Study of the third Volume of al-Muqtabis:

Only the third volume of this work has been published. This volume deals with the political history of Muslim Spain during the rule of the seventh Umayyad ruler, Amir 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad, i.e. from 275 to 299 A.H. (888 to 912 A.D.).

Its text covers 147 pages. Besides the text, the publisher, H.M. Antuna, has written an introduction in Spanish in 20 pages. In the first fifty pages the author has dealt with

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1. Ibn Khallikān : Mafayāt al-A'yan 1 : 457; al-Bustānī : Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif 2 : 481; al-Mirkatī : al-A'lām 2 : 323.
  2. The Cambridge History of Islām 2 : 420.
  3. al-Bustānī : Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif 2 : 481.
  4. The Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 790.

the biographies of the eminent personalities who flourished in Spain during the reign of Amīr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad. From page 50 onwards he has provided an yearwise record of the events which occurred in this period.

The first heading in the book is "Commemoration of succession of the Amīr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the seventh of the Marwānid Caliphs in al-Andalus, after his brother al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad" and the second is "Report of the Bay'ah of the Amīr Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad after the death of his brother al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad and the unity of the members of his family in his favour in a group". These headings indicate in a nutshell the matter discussed under them. In the beginning of each of these two chapters he has left much blank space. It may be due to the reason that he intended to add some information later which he could not due to some reason.

Ibn Ḥayyān has approached his subject with a broad outlook. He analyses the subject in such a way that no one fails to see the wood for the trees. He considers 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the amīr, as the central figure as is the case in a drama or novel. To the Amīr all the other persons are only to play the second fiddle. Therefore before discussing the life of the Amīr in detail he discusses the other important personalities who flourished then. Under the third heading, "the names of those officials from whom the Amīr 'Abd Allāh sought help in connection

with his noble and great deeds," he discusses the ḥājibs, vizirs, generals, secretaries, judges and jurists each under a sub-title. It covers only four pages. Then in the next 24 pages the biographies of the persons who had created disturbances on a large scale and fought against the amīr in different parts of Spain are given. They have been divided into two sets as major trouble makers (14 in number) and minor trouble makers (19 in number). Among the first group Ibn Ḥafṣūn tops the list. To the following persons also the author has devoted comparatively larger space.

1. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Umayyah b. al-Ḥhāliyyah the king of Jubal Shamintān and its suburbs of Jayyān.
2. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥajjāj b. 'Umayr al-Lakṭanīy, king of Seville and Qarnūnah.
3. Al-ʿrābī al-ʿUdhurī, of Hijāz.
4. Banū Mūsā b. Alī al-Hun (al-Fath and Mutrif) of Ghent in Rayy.
5. Banū Mubājir al-Tajībīyyūn, of Baragossa.
6. Sa'īd b. Hudhayl of the fort of al-Muntatūn in Jayyān and
7. Sa'īd b. Sulaymān b. Jūdī of Elviro.

While writing the biographies of these persons the author does not go into minute details like the date of birth, account of childhood, education etc. But he pays attention only to the field of activity in which the person concerned acquired fame.

It is followed by an elaborate biography of the Amīr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad in nine pages. Both the good and the bad qualities of the amīr are mentioned in it and their authorities have also been quoted. For example, he says that the Amīr 'Abd Allāh was one of the most pious Umayyad Caliphs of al-Andalus. He used to wake up at night to offer the Tahajjud prayer. During the month of Ramaḍān he used to offer night prayers with the Imāms in the Jāmi' Masjid of Cordova. He also offered his daily prayers all the five times compulsorily with the jamā'at in the mosque. When he entered the mosque from a particular door the people who were present there stood up to show him respect. Once the jurist Sa'īd b. Khurayr warned the amīr against this practice through a letter. So the Amīr advised the people in general who were present in the mosque not to stand for him. He was well versed in all the sciences and had particular insight in the language, history of the Arabs and the biographies of the Caliphs. He spent much time in the recitation of the Qur'ān. He was eloquent and was greatly fond of poetry.

In important affairs he used to take decisions only after discussing them with learned men and jurists. He was most generous to the needy and the poor. He was the first Umayyad Caliph in al-Andalus to curtail the unnecessary expenditure on

such items as the clothing and travels. In the outer part of the castle, near his dwelling place, he opened a new gate for the common people and named it the gate of justice. The oppressed and the weaker sections of the people brought to his notice their complaints directly and he disposed them off quickly. It proved to be a useful practice and due to it injustice was removed as those who felt afraid became safe.

This chapter is followed by the biographies of the poets who flourished there during this period. Some of the best pieces of their poetry have been quoted by the author. He has mentioned twenty poets in all, among whom Abū 'Umar Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Rabbāh tops the list. Thirty one verses composed by him have been quoted. A few other poets whose verses are given are: al-Muḥḥir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh, Qasim b. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-'Iḥālī, Sa'īd b. 'Abd Rabbāh and Zaid b. Rabī' b. Sulaymān al-Hijrī known as Zaid al-Sarīd.

Then starts the yearwise record of the events which occurred in various parts of al-Andalus during this time. Here Ibn Ḥayyān has described each incident in great detail.

This part of the book is totally devoted to the description of riots and revolts. From it we become aware of the different warring groups and personalities and the techniques used by them to win the war. We also get information about a large number of unknown villages, rivers, mountains, buildings, forts etc. in ~~the~~ each part of Spain.

Ibn Ḥafṣūn was an important enemy of Amīr 'Abd Allāh. He was originally a christian but later became a Muslim. In the year 386 A.H. he again returned to his old faith.<sup>1</sup> Violation of treaties was one of his outstanding characteristics. In the year 375 A.H. Ibn Ḥafṣūn accepted the obedience of the Amīr 'Abd Allāh and the Amīr appointed him the governor of Bāyy. But after a few months he revolted against the Amīr.<sup>2</sup> There are many other examples of this nature also regarding Ibn Ḥafṣūn.

The leader of the warring Arabs in Spain after Yaḥyā b. Saḡlāh was Suwār b. Ḥamdūn. The first encounter in which Suwār was the leader was that of al-Ḥirah. About this incident many poems were composed and 21 verses of Ibn Suwār have been quoted in this work about this incident and in praise of Suwār.<sup>3</sup> The encounter of Granada was the second one in which Suwār took part. The number of persons who were killed in this encounter was 12000. About this incident Sa'īd b. Jūdī had composed a long poem from which 20 verses have been quoted by Ibn Ḥayyān.<sup>4</sup> The following verses indicate the bravery of the Arabs in the battlefield against their opponents:<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibn Ḥayyān : al-Muqtabis : 128.
  2. Ibid: 50.
  3. Ibid : 59-60.
  4. Ibid : 57-8.
  5. Ibid : 57-8.



• لطلت سيف العبد محمد حاكم	• حماد نزع ابيضه للمناجل
• ولما رأونا راجعين اليهم	• تولوا مرانا خوف فزع المناجل
• نصرنا طيهم والرمح تنوهم	• كزبح الصبايح تحت ريح القاطل
• فلم يبق منهم غير طار صليد	• يناد اسيرا مؤثقا في السلاسل
• واحمر منهم عارب قد ضالمت	• به الارض يحفر من جوى ولاسل

The Indian swords continued to cut your gatherings into pieces just as the sickles cut the ripened cultivation,

when they saw us returning to them, they took to their heels quickly for the fear of the spearheads which may befall them,

So we turned against them and the lances were making them fall as the spurs of the rooster fall under the hot water of the pipe,

No one of them remained but those who were fettered and there was no one to help them. They were driven as prisoners tied firmly in chains,

The rest of them ran away turning their backs but the land became narrow for them and they became exhausted due to grief and anxiety,

After the murder of Sumār Ibn Jūfī became the leader of the Arabs. He was a brave horseman, a self controlled person and an eloquent poet. He was famous in his time for the follow

ten qualities : generosity, bravery, horsemanship, beauty, composition of poetry, oratory, strength, skill in fighting with spears as well as swords and archery.<sup>1</sup>

Among the war techniques described in this work is the following one used by Hafs to kill his Arab opponent Suwār. Ibn Ḥayyān says that he planned a raid against Suwār. So one day he surrounded Suwār with most of his cavalry but kept them in hiding and came out himself in disguise only with a small number of them. Unaware of the trick Suwār, on the first war cry, came from Granada hurriedly with a handful of men and exposed himself to the enemies. The hidden men soon came out of their hiding, surrounded and killed him.

Some other important incidents which occurred during this period are:

- (1) the war of 'Hishn Kilāī' and its conquest;<sup>3</sup>
- (2) murder of Ibn Ḥayyān;<sup>4</sup>
- (3) murder of Ibn Jūdī and<sup>5</sup>
- (4) the coming out of al-Dhī known as Ibn al-At al-arabi and his murder.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Ibid : 29-30.

2. Ibid : 60-61.

3. Ibid : 93.

4. Ibid : 110

5. Ibid : 123

6. Ibid : 133.

During the twenty five years reign of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad there was continuous disturbance and disorder. No year passed without some incident of this nature. The wars had to be fought both in summer and the rainy season. Ibn Ḥayyān was fully aware of the destruction caused by these wars and the difficulties the common man had to face due to them. He often mentions that the cultivation was ruined and the trees were cut by the armies. At one place <sup>1</sup> he says that the lives of the people of Cordova became miserable and full of trouble.

This work is of great historical importance as Ibn Ḥayyān has provided detailed and minute information of his time in it. The following examples throw interesting light on this aspect of the work:

ورحل المسكرين الاحد غرة رجب منها الى عين شيطان ومنها الى  
عين البط فاحتل به وقت المغرب وهم الباقون في الطريق فمات من  
المطش سبع وثلاثون رجلا وثقى دواب كثيرة .

- (1) "From there the army left on Sunday, the first of Rajab, to 'Ayn Shayṭān and from there to Hish al-Batt and there the time of the Maghrib prayer came. The water had been exhausted in the way. No more than thirty persons and a large number of animals died because of thirst."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid. : 104.

2. Ibid. : 117.

و اتقام طريق المسكر لالا طى طريق حيان الى ان وصل  
الى قنوطية بعد ثلاثة اشهر واحد وعشرين يوما من خروجه  
منها .

- (2) The army adopted the direct route on its return journey through Jayyān until it reached Cordova after three months and 21 days of leaving it.<sup>1</sup>

It need not be added that the author has given the date of every small incident.

Though it is a history of a quarter of a century Ibn Ḥayyān has referred to the incidents of the preceding and succeeding periods also at certain places in order to make it more explicit for the reader. For example he says that: "He (Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān known as al-ḥayy al-Aḥmad al-Khurā'ī) came to Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān who sent him to Cordova where he died in the year 329 A.H. when he attained the age of a hundred years."<sup>2</sup>

As has been mentioned earlier, in the court of 'Abd Alīsh there flourished a good number of poets. In this work Ibn Ḥayyān has quoted 295 verses of different poets composed on different occasions. They include eulogy, satire, war songs, love songs and elegy. A specimen of war song has already been quoted. The following four verses are an elegy on 'Alī b. Jānī

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1. Ibid. : 113.

2. Ibid. : 22.

by Muqaddim D. Ma'arik<sup>1</sup>

من ذا الذي يطعم اريكس • وقد حوى حلف الذي رمس  
لا اخضرت الارض ولا اوق • الصود ولا اقرنت الشمس  
حمد ابن جودي الذي لم ترق • اكرم منه الجن والانس  
دمع على في سهل الاسي • على عهد ابد احي

who is there to give food or clothing (to the poor) while  
the grave has hidden (in it) the oath of generosity (the  
most generous person)?

The earth has not become green, the branches have not  
become leafy and the sun has not risen.

After Ibn Jūdī nobler than whom is not seen by the Jinns  
and the human beings.

The tears of my eyes have been stopped from flowing over  
the grief of Sa'īd for ever.

A slave girl was brought to Ibn Jūdī from Cordova. When  
he became alone with her she did not look at his face but cast  
down her eyes to the floor because of shyness. On this Ibn Jūdī<sup>2</sup>  
said:

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1. Ibid. : 65.

2. Ibid. : 126.

امالة الالخط على السى الارض • اهذا الذى تدين وجهك من يدي  
 فان كان يفضا لست والله اعلم • ورجعى بهذاك اللخط اولى من الارض

Are you casting your eyes away from me down to the  
 earth? Curse be on you!

Are you showing your anger to me in this way?

If it is anger, by God I do not deserve it and my  
 face is better to look at than the earth.

The following are the verses of Yahyā, the son of the  
 brother of Yahya b. Saqālah, the first among those who stood up  
 in support of the Arab cause in the praise of Suwār and about  
 the assault on the people of al-Āirah<sup>1</sup>

لسوار على الاعداء سيف • لهاد ذوى العداوة فانهم حبلوا  
 لقد ذلت رقابهم بـسيف • فعادهم شديد البأس صل  
 مقام كاس حى بعد كاس • بما نعل الصبيد مما وطئوا  
 وقد رقصت لسوار قنااة • بما حصت رقابهم وذللوا  
 قنااة المسجد مركزها عزيز • حياها مانع لا يـسفل  
 قطعت بواحد سوار القنا • والشم بواحدنا يـسفل

Suwār has a sword for the enemies which has eradicated  
 those who were hostile. So they faded away.

Their necks were disgraced with humiliation. He,  
 the strong one, struck them like a calamity.

He made them drink the cup of death one after another;

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1. Ibid. : 66-66.

the slaves drank it together for the first time and became ill.

The spear of Suwār was raised (on their heads) and with it their necks were made to bend and they were humiliated.

It was a glorious spear whose middle point was precious which was protected by one who was prohibitive and could not be degraded.

A thousand (enemies) were killed by Suwār alone; and for him a thousand was a small number.

Ibn Ḥayyān is very particular about quoting the sources before giving an information. No historian in Muslim Spain before Ibn Ḥayyān was so keen in this matter. The following are the authorities from whom he has generally gathered his information:

(1) 'Isā b. Ahmad al-Rāṣī<sup>1</sup> (2) 'Ubbādī<sup>2</sup> (3) Ibn al-Qūṭayyāh<sup>3</sup>  
 (4) Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Rabbihī<sup>4</sup> (5) Sulaym b. Ibrāhīm<sup>5</sup> (6)  
 al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Mufarrīj<sup>6</sup> (7) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr<sup>7</sup> (8) Ibn  
 al-Faradī<sup>8</sup> and Abū Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb b. Sulaymān.<sup>9</sup>

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1. Ibid. : 2, 4, 26, 33, 35, 53, 54, 60, 66, 85, 87, 89, 93, 105, 106, 108, 109, 120, 125, 128, 133, 137, 138.

2. Ibid. : 30, 35, 61, 62, 105.

3. Ibid. : 3, 7, 86, 129.

4. Ibid., : 3, 37.

5. Ibid. : 3, 104.

6. Ibid. : 5.

7. Ibid. : 7.

8. Ibid. : 12, 123, 131.

9. Ibid. : 34.

This work is valuable both as a political and a literary history of Spain. From the geographical point of view also it carries some value. But its main importance lies in the field of the political history of Spain. No other Spanish Muslim had attempted to write such a detailed history of Spain before Ibn Ḥayyān. In this way it is a unique attempt.

The following works which fall in this category are not extant :

Kitāb al-Muḥīn in sixty volumes by Abū Marwān Ḥayyān b. Khalaf (d. 469/1076), author of the previous work, is a comprehensive history of Spain.<sup>1</sup> Since Ibn Bassām has depended mainly on this work for the historical information given in his al-Shakhṣiyyah detailed study of this work has been made while dealing with al-Shakhṣiyyah in the next chapter.

Al-Tārīkh fi'l Dawlat al-'Amīriyyah fī al-Andalus by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ma'mar al-Lughawī, Abū al-Ḥalīd. He was a literary man of wide knowledge. He died in the eastern Islands in Shawwāl, 423 a.h.<sup>2</sup>

Tārīkh al-Andalus by Ḥā'id b. Ahmad al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070).<sup>3</sup> Beyond the title no information is available about this work.

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1. Ibn Khallikān : wafayāt al-A'yān 1 : 199.
  2. Ibn Bashkawāl : al-Ḥilāl : 321.
  3. Abū Zirkilī : al-A'yān 3 : 271.



Al-Fadī lā Ma'rifat al-Hasan al-'Abbādī by Abū 'Alī<sup>1</sup> al-Fadī b. Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥamm. He entered the service of the 'Abbāids of Seville and was killed at the battle of Zallāqa in Rajab 479/October 1086. No information is available about this work except its title.

Al-Bayān al-Maqīb fī al-Mulūk al-Fādīp : a history on the conquest of Valencia by the Romans, by Muḥammad b. al-Khalaf b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl, Abū 'Abd Allāh, known as Ibn 'Alqama, a native of Valencia in Spain. Ibn al-Abbār has drawn material from this work for his work 'al-Takmilā li-litb al-Ḥila.' Ibn 'Alqama was born in 428/1038 and died on 25 Shawwāl 509/1116.<sup>2</sup>

## (2) General History:

In this category we come across only six titles. Very scanty information is available about them and no one of them is extant except the Dulghat al-Musha'jil by al-Ḥumaydi, which is in manuscript form.<sup>3</sup>

Kitāb al-Sāhir fī'l-Tārīkh by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uways Allāh al-Mu'ayyid, Abū al-Muḥaf, generally known by the name Ibn al-Maghāḥiḡa, of Cordova. He studied under Abū

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 790.

2. Ibn al-Abbār : al-Takmilā li-litb al-Ḥila : 146 (Madrid, 1896)  
al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 6 : 343.

3. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 7 : 219.

al-Ḥasan al-Anṭākī al-Ḥaḡarī, Khalaf b. Qāsim and others. He also learnt the Holy Qur'ān by heart. He held offices like Aḡkām al-Jurta and al-Maṭḥā'iq al-Sultāniyyah and later was appointed as qāḍī of Aḡbahūna, Qarnīna, Mawrūr and Tākarnā at the same time. Afterwards he was removed from this post and appointed to the post of Aḡkām al-Misba. Then again he served as the qāḍī of Jayyān and qāḍī of Valencia respectively. He died in the year 397 A.H.

Kitāb al-Aḡḡār wa'l Qharā'id : by 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḡarī, Abū'l Qāsim, generally known as Ibn Shīrāq. He belonged to Seville and was a man of letters, and a well known poet. He died in the year 413 A.H.

Kitāb al-'Iḡar fī'l Tā'rikh by Ahmad b. Sa'id b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fayyāḡ, Abū Bakr, a native of Istija who had settled in al-Miryā. In Istija he studied under Yūsuf b. 'Amrūn and in al-Miryā under Abū 'Iḡar al-Talḡankī, Abū 'Umar b. 'Aḡīr, al-Muḡallab b. Abī Sufra and others. He died in 459 A.H. when he was about eighty years old.

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1. Ibn Baḡkūwāl : al-Silah : 301-302; Huḡyat al-'Ārifīn 1:514.
  2. Ibn Baḡkūwāl : al-Silah : 312-19; Ismā'il Bāḡhā: Huḡyat al-'Ārifīn 1 : 515.
  3. Ibn Baḡkūwāl : al-Silah : 33; Ismā'il Bāḡhā: Huḡyat al-'Ārifīn 1 : 78.

Tā'rikh al-Islām by Sa'id b. Ahmad al-Andalusī (d. 492/1070).<sup>1</sup>

Jāmi' Akhbār al-Umam min-al-'Arab wa-al-'Ajam by the same

author.<sup>2</sup> No further information is available about these works.

Bulghat al-Musta'jil : by Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr Futūḥ, al-Ḥumaydī

(d. 493/1093). Yāqūt al-Rūmī has included in the list of al-

Ḥumaydī's works Bulghat al-Musta'jil and Tā'rikh al-Islām.<sup>3</sup> But

al-Zirkilī is of the opinion that Tā'rikh al-Islām is the same

work as Bulghat al-Musta'jil.<sup>4</sup> Ḥajī Khalīfa has given its name

as Bulghat al-Musta'jil fi'l Tā'rikh and has added to the credit

of al-Ḥumaydī another work called 'Jamal-Tā'rikh al-Islām'.<sup>5</sup> It

is possible that the latter may not be a separate work but another title for Bulghat al-Musta'jil itself.

### (3) History of Sciences:

There is only one work in this field which is Kitāb Tabaqāt al-ʿUlamāʾ : by Sa'id b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa'id al-Andalusī al-Taghlibī, Abū al-ʿAsim, generally called 'Ḥadī Sa'id'.<sup>6</sup> Born

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1. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 3: 271. 2. Ibid.

3. Yāqūt al-Rūmī : Irshād al-Arīb 7 : 58-60.

4. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 7 : 218-19.

5. Ḥajī Khalīfa : Kashf al-Murūʾ 2 : 232.

6. Yūsuf Ilyās Sarkīs : Muʿjam al-Maṭbūʿāt : 1182 (Egypt, 1928);  
al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 3 : 271.

7. Encyclopaedia of Islām 4 : 831.

at Almeria in 420/1029,<sup>1</sup> ḡā'id began his studies at Cordova and completed them at Toledo, then the capital of the Dhu'l Nūnids and the centre of a brilliant intellectual activity. He very soon made a name for himself by his knowledge of law, history, mathematics and astronomy. He was appointed the qāḍī of Toledo by Dhu'l Nūnid amīr Yahyā al-Ma'mūn and held this office till his death in Shawwāl, 462 (July, 1070).<sup>2</sup> Among his other works are : (1) Jawāmi' Akhbār al-Umam min al-'Arab w-al-'Ajam (2) Suwān al-Hikam fī Tabaqāt al-Mukammūn (3) Maqālah Ahl al-Milal w-al-Milal (4) Iqlāb Harakat al-Mujūm (5) Ta'rīkh al-Andalus (6) Ta'rīkh al-Islām.<sup>3</sup>

ḡā'id b. Ahmad has tried to deal with the history of the whole mankind till his time in the work under discussion. He has started the work with these words:

أعلم أن جميع الناس في مشارق الأرض ومغاربها وجميعها  
وإن كانوا يوماً واحداً ينتهون بخلق الله بالخلق والسر  
والله أعلم .

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1. Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs : Mu'jam al-Matbū'āt : 1182, al-Ziriklī : al-A'lām 3 : 271.
  2. Jurjī Zaydān : Ta'rīkh al-Adab 3 : 79, al-Ziriklī : al-A'lām 3:271; Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs : Mu'jam al-Matbū'āt : 1182; Encyclopaedia of Islām 4 : 831.
  3. al-Ziriklī : al-A'lām 3 : 271.
  4. ḡā'id al-Andalusī : Kitāb Tabaqāt al-Umam : 5.

Let it be known that the whole mankind belonging to the East, West, South and North though they are from the same stock, are distinguished by three things : character, forms and languages.'

This work was edited by P. Louis Chaikho and published in the Catholic Press, Beirut in 1912 A.D. Before starting the work the editor has written a short introduction in two pages in which he has given the biography of the author and has discussed the importance of this work. The editor has also added detailed explanatory notes to the difficult words and phrases used in the text. The text is short and covers only 86 pages. The author has divided it into four chapters. In the first chapter he has discussed the ancient peoples. In this chapter he says that mankind in the ancient period, before it was divided on the basis of tribes and languages, consisted of seven nations, namely: (1) the Persians; (2) the Chaldeans; (3) the Greek, the Romans the French, the Russians etc., (4) the Copts; (5) the Turks (6) the people of Hind and Sind; and (7) the Chinese. While mentioning these peoples, the author has provided the geographical position of each nation as it then existed.

The title of the second chapter is : 'Ikhtilāf al-Ummā wa Tabaqatuhā bi'l Aghghāl' (The division of the nations and their classes according to their occupations). In this chapter he

has divided mankind into two groups: those engaged in intellectual work and those engaged in manual work.

In the third chapter he has discussed the intellectually undeveloped group. In this group he has included the Chinese, the Turks and such other people. About the Chinese he says that they were famous for their most powerful kingdom and large number and about the Turks that they were famous for their valour. Ibn Khaldun has ascribed both intellectual development and retardation to sociological reasons. For intellectual retardation of the people he has mentioned certain geographical and climatic reasons. According to him:

واتا سائر هذه الطبقة التي لم تكن بالملوك منهم ائمة  
بالبحان منهم بالان لان من كان منهم بعد في بلاد الشمال ما من  
آخر الاقاليم البعيدة التي من نهاية المعمور في الشمال فالتوا  
بعد الشمس من سامية رؤسهم يزد هراهم وكشف جؤم  
..... فمدوا بهذا دالة الامداد والتعويب الخواطر  
طلب عليهم الجحش والبلادة ومشا نهيم العمى والعمارة كالمقانية  
والبرفر ومن اتصل بهم .

ومن كان منهم ساكناً تريباً من حدّ معدل النصار وخلفه  
الى نهاية المعمور في الجنوب بطول مقارعة الشمس لسمت رؤسهم  
أسخس هواهم وسعد جؤم . ..... فمدوا بهذا رجاحة الاحلام  
وثبوت الحائر وغلب عليهم الطهش وفشا فيهم النوك والجهل مثل  
من كان من السودان ساكناً باتقى بلاد البهنة والنوبة والنزير  
وغيرها .

(No one of the people belonging to this class paid attention to acquire knowledge. Therefore they resembled beasts more than human beings.

Those among them who had penetrated into the farthest inhabited northern part of the seven regions (in to which the world is divided) they had the sun far away from their zenith which made the air around them cool and inspired the atmosphere ..... and because of this reason, they lost the accuracy of mind and the brilliance of intellect and ignorance and stupidity overcame them and foolishness spread among them as was the case with the slaves and the Burghar and those who were connected with them.

And those among them who were living near the equator and a little away from it within the limits of the inhabited southern part (of the earth) they had sun remaining very close to their zenith for a long time and this made the air around them warm and caused the environment to become exhausting ..... and because of this reason they lost the equanimity of understanding and the steadiness of mental perception and recklessness overcame them and stupidity and foolishness became common in them as was the case with the black people living in far off Ethiopia and Nubia and the Negroes and such others.)

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1. Ibid. : 89.

Then he comes to the fourth chapter which is the main part of this work. Here he has discussed elaborately the people who do intellectual work. This is the lengthiest chapter of the book. While he has reserved only five pages for the first three chapters, he has devoted all the remaining pages to this chapter. Here he has divided the intellectually developed human beings into eight nations and has said that they have been interested in the study of various sciences. They are (1) the Indians; (2) the Persians; (3) the Chaldeans, (4) the Greeks; (5) the Occidentals; (6) the Egyptians; (7) the Arabs and (8) the Jews. Among the Arabs he has included the Muslims of Spain also under a separate heading. Under each nation he has mentioned its geographical surroundings, religious and political history, the sciences which it has cultivated, the important books written by its men of letters in various fields of knowledge and the well known personalities of each field with a short biographical sketch. While going through this work, we come to know that in ancient times the following sciences had been particularly developed: Astronomy, Mathematics, Physics, Music, Medicine, Philosophy and Logic, Metaphysics, Religious Sciences and Politics.

As far as the political history of Persia is concerned, Ibn Sa'id has traced it from a very ancient period. The same is the case with the Arabs. He has betrayed great historical



insight while dealing with these two nations.

While discussing, the religious trends of the Egyptians,  
he has written:<sup>1</sup>

وكان أهل مصر في تلك الأزمان طائفة تعبد الأصنام وغير  
الحياكل ثم تنصرت عند ظهور دين النصرانية ولم تنزل على ذلك  
إلى أن انتصحتا المسلمون واسلم بعضهم وبقي سائرهم على دينهم  
أهل دمة إلى اليوم .

(Egyptians in the old days were Sabians; they worshipped  
the idols and looked after the temples. When Christianity  
made its appearance they became Christians and continued  
to be so until the Muslims conquered them. Then some of  
them accepted Islam and the rest remained in their old  
religion till today as Ahl-dima.)

About the religious condition of India he has provided  
the following information:<sup>2</sup>

أما الدين الألفي فأنهم مجتمعون منه على التوحيد لله عز وجل  
والسنة له من الاشتراك به ثم هم متفردون في سائر أديانهم  
فهم براهمنة ومنهم طائفة ناسا البراهمنة وهي تفرقة لليلة  
المدد .

(As far as the theological science is concerned  
all of them are united on the oneness of God, the

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1. Ibid. : 38.

2. Ibid. : 12.

powerful and great and His being free from Co-sharers (in His power). But they are divided into various categories. Among them are the Brahmins and Sabians. As far as the Brahmins are concerned, they are only a small community.)

According to him in the field of astronomy there were three schools of thought in India, namely (a) al-Sind-Hind; (b) al-Azjir and (c) al-Arkand. He has given the views of all the three schools of thought in quite a great detail.

About the Greek he has said that they made special contribution in the field of physical science, education, theology, ethics and politics. He has also given short accounts of the great ancient Greek thinkers as Zeno, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle as well as of later ones.

To the Greeks, the Arabs and the Spaniards he has allotted comparatively larger number of pages. Particularly he has given a larger number of biographies of the Spanish people. He has also quoted a few verses of the Spanish poets. While giving an account of India, he has admitted that he could not collect such information about this far away country.

In short, every page of this work is full of valuable information and brevity is a hall mark of this work.

Actually one can appreciate the wealth of beauty of the language and the information which the work contains only

if he goes through its pages himself.

In the field of the history of sciences this is a unique work which the Spanish historian, had produced.

(4) Biography:

In this category we get the titles of eleven works and out of them five are extant. Three of them are concerned with the Prophet and his companions. One work is about three eminent jurists, namely Imām Mālik, Imām Abū Hanīfa and Imām Shāfi'ī. The remaining work deals with the people belonging to Spain. The works are as follows:

Jadhwat al-Muqtadīs fi Dhikr wulāt al-Andalus: by al-Husaydī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr Futūḥ b. 'Abd Allāh b. Husayd b. Yasil. Al-Husaydī's family belonged to the tribe of Asd. His father was born in al-Buṣāfa, a suburb of Cordova, but moved to Majorca, where al-Husaydī was born about

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1. Majorca or Mayurqaḥ : a Spanish Island, the largest of the Balearic Islands, located in the Western Mediterranean Sea. Area 1495 sq.mi. Palma is the capital of Majorca and Balearic province. (Encyclopaedia Britannica 14:653). Though raided frequently both by Muslims and by Normans, the islands were not permanently conquered by the caliphs of Cordova until 903 A.D. Majorca and Minorca became the objective of a great Pisan-Catalan crusade which in 1116 A.D. temporarily succeeded in liberating thousands of Christian slaves and in destroying the Moors' piratical bases. Although the Muslims rapidly re-established their hold, James I of Aragon annexed Majorca and Ibiza in 1230-35 A.D., Minorca falling to his descendant Alfonso III in 1286 A.D. (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2 : 1076).

480/1039.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān says: 'His family belonged to al-Busāifa, a suburb of Cordova, but he was a native of the Islam of Mayūrqaqah.<sup>2</sup>' He narrated traditions on the authority of 'Alī Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhiri to whom he had been particularly attached and from whom he had learned so much that he became generally known by the appellation of Ibn Ḥazm's disciple. One of the other masters whose authority he cited was Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Barr. In the year 448 (1056-57), he set out for the East and made the pilgrimage to Makkah. Having heard traditions, he taught in that city and in Ifrīqiya, Spain, Egypt, Syria and Irāq. He finally took up his residence in Baghdad.<sup>3</sup> He bore a high reputation for nobility of character, learning, solid information, piety and devotion.<sup>4</sup> Besides the work under discussion, he had the following works to his credit: (1) al-Jan' Bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn, (2) al-ḥabab al-ḥabīb fī Ma' wa's al-Mulūk; (3) Tashīl al-Saḥīl ilā 'Ilm al-Tarāīl; (4) al-Mutashāḥib; (5) Hawādir al-Aṭibbā'; (6) Tafsīr Ghariḥ mā

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1. Al-Maqqarī : Naḥḥ al-Ṭib 3, 1 : 314; al-ḥabab : Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāḥ: 1218; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 7 : 218; Encyclopaedia of Islām, 3 : 573.

2. Ibn Khallikān : waḥayāt al-A'yān 3 : 410.

3. Al-Maqqarī : Naḥḥ al-Ṭib 2, 1:314-15; al-ḥabab : Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāḥ : 1218.

4. Ibn Khallikān : waḥayāt al-A'yān 3 : 410-11.

fī al-Ṣaḥīḥayn, (7) Bulghat al-Mustajjal (8) al-Tadhkirah; (9) al-Aṣṣil al-Ṣadiqah; (10) Kitāb Ma Jā'a Min al-Nuṣūṣ wa-al-Akhbār fī Ḥifẓ al-Jar (11) Muḥabtabāt al-Aḥdīq' fī al-Makātabāt wa-al-Liqā' and (12) Kitāb Man Idda'a al-Asmā min Ahl al-Imān.<sup>1</sup> In the introduction of Jaḥwāt al-Muḥtabis the publishers have added the names of six more works all of which have been lost. They have informed that the names of these works have been given by Muḥammad Tawīt al-Tanjī in the introduction of 'Taba'at al-'Aṭār' but they themselves have not mentioned them. Al-Munayyī died at Baghdad in 489/1096.<sup>2</sup>

Jaḥwāt al-Muḥtabis, a biographical dictionary of the Spanish people, is the only published work of al-Munayyī. About the reason for writing this work and its subject matter the author himself has said that when he reached Baghdad some noble people requested him to write the accounts of traditionists, jurists, men of letters, eminent persons, poets and famous people who belonged to Spain or came there or went out from there in search of knowledge and merit or of leadership and war. About the arrangement of the material he has written that he

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1. Yāqūt al-Ḥamī : Iṣḥād al-Aṣīb 7 : 60; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 7:218-19; al-Munayyī : Jaḥwāt al-Muḥtabis : Introduction : "2a".

2. Al-Ḥabībī : Baghyat al-Mulṭamīs : 113; Ḥājī Khaliḥ : Kashf al-Zurūr 2 : 282; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 7 : 218.

began the work with the victory of Spain and the account of the people who conquered it. Then he turned to those who came there after them and those who ruled it. They are followed by other categories of people whom he considered worth mentioning. He has written their biographies either from memory or from the books available to him. He has arranged these biographies in alphabetical order.

In this work al-Humaydi has given the biographies of quite a large number of people having some connection with Spain and belonging to all walks of life. He has shown special consideration for jurists, traditionists and poets. Rulers, amirs, governors, judges and other political figures are also given no less importance. To merchants, medicos, philosophers, historians also considerable space has been provided. While going through the biographies of these people from different walks of life we get glimpses of the political, social, religious and literary conditions of Spain during the period Jadhwat al-Muqtabis covers.

Jadhwat al-Muqtabis is in a single volume of 414 pages. It contains a total number of 987 biographies. The work begins with an introduction by the publishers in eleven pages. After it the photostat copies of pages 121 and 178 (the last page)

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1. Al-Humaydi : Jadhwat al-Muqtabis : 1-3.

of the manuscript have been attached. Then the real work starts which is divided into ten almost equal parts. But in the first part a historical introduction in 36 pages is also included. In it the author has given the history of Spain from the time of Tāriq b. Zayd's entry upto 443 A.H. But the information regarding some important political figures, like Husein b. Nusayr, Tāriq b. Zayd, Abū 'Amīr Muḥammad b. Abī 'Amīr, has been provided only in the biographical part of the work; here only their names have been mentioned. Though the biographies are arranged alphabetically, the account of the persons having the names Muḥammad and Ahmad has been given in the beginning of the book as a mark of respect to the prophet. We find no biographies under the alphabets Rā' and Zā.

Under each alphabet the people bearing the same name are dealt with separately and a separate portion is reserved for such names which are not borne by more than one person. In these biographies the author has given information such as the name of the person with his genealogy, his kunyah or ḥisbah, the place to which he belonged, his teachers his travel and his compositions. At the end of the most of these biographies he has provided some specimen of poetry or stories or conversation by or about these people. Generally he has not mentioned the dates of various events and wherever he has done so, he has given merely approximate dates, as for example, died before

280<sup>1</sup>, came to Spain after 440<sup>2</sup> and died about the year 320<sup>3</sup> (A.R.).

The largest number of biographies come under the alphabets 'Alif' (159), 'Āin' (113), 'Ain' (223), 'Hā' (219) and 'Yā' (47). Under Alif persons having the name Ahmad are 82 and Ibrahim 37 in number 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Rahmān have 35 and 37 numbers respectively. Under 'Hā' there are 171 persons having the name Muhammad. There are 30 person with the name Yahya under 'Yā'. In this work there are a large number of short biographies, some of them covering only a single line. This has only increased the number of biographies but does not provide us with information worth the name. The author has allotted space to various persons in this work according to their importance. The largest biographies cover five pages each. There are three persons only, namely Ahmad b. Kulayb al-Napā'ī, Ismā'īl b. al-Āsīm Abū 'Alī al-Qā'ī and Sa'id b. al-Ḥasan al-Baḥā'ī Abū al-'Alā', to whom he has allotted the largest number of pages. There are 12 persons the length of whose biographies extends to 3 pages each and 10 persons whose biographies cover two pages each. The rest of the biographies occupy less than two pages.

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1. Ibid. : 447.
  2. Ibid. No. 419.
  3. Ibid. No. 912.



As has already been mentioned, in the first part of the work the author has given the political history of Spain in brief and has tried to collect as much information as possible. The information which he could not provide here he has given in the later parts. The following are a few quotations which may throw light to some important aspects of this work. In the biography of Tāriq b. Ziyād the author has said:

هو أول من غزا الأندلس سنة اثنين وتسعين من الهجرة والفتح  
كثيراً ما حاتم لم يبق بها موسى بن نصير و قتم عليه إذا غزاهما بنهر  
أدنه وسجنه وحم يقتله ثم يرد عليه كتاب الوليد بن عبد الملك  
بأطلافة وتركه يستمر له ما طلبه وسحق منه إلى الشام

(He was the first to invade al-andalus in the year 92 A.H. and conquered a large part of it. Then Mūsā b. Ḥuṣayr reached there; he harboured malice against him for invading it without his permission and imprisoned him and intended to kill him. Then he received a letter from al-walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik to release him and not to interfere with him. So he released him and left with him for Syria.)

Here al-Huṣaydī says that Mūsā b. Ḥuṣayr had imprisoned Tāriq b. Ziyād and intended to murder him. No other contemporary Spanish historian has given this information. This arises doubt

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1. Ibid. : 248.

about its authenticity and if this information is not correct, it reduces the historical value of the work.

The following quotation throws light on a social reform which al-Hakam al-Mustansir introduced in Spain:

قد رام قطع الخمر من الاندلس وأمر بارتقا وتهدد في ذلك و  
شاور في استئصال شجرة الخبث من جميع اقاليمه .

(He intended to prohibit the use of liquor in Spain and ordered that it should be poured out and was quite severe about, it. He consulted people about exterminating the vines from all the provinces<sup>1</sup>).

While writing the biographies of the traditionists, the author has collected some traditions of the Prophet also in this work. One of these traditions is:

من كتب عن علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه وسلم قال "لكن  
أمة تفتن راي تفتن أمتي المال" .

(Ra'b ibn 'A'ayad has narrated that the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, has said: For every people there is a trial and the trial of my people is wealth<sup>2</sup>).

Al-Humaydi has quoted the following observations of Muhammad b. al-Hasan Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maghajjī (d. after 400 AH

1. Ibid. : 13.

2. Ibid. : 342.

a philosopher of Spain, about the social evils prevailing there:

ان من الصعب من يلقى في العالم دون تصاون على صلحة اما  
يرى الحارث يحرق له والبتاء يبنى له والنزاز يحرق له وسائر  
الناس كل يتولى فيه شئلاً له فيه صلحة وبه اليه ضرورة اما  
يستحي ان يلقى شيئاً من في العالم الا بعين مراهنا  
يشقى من السلطنة .

(It is strange that people live in the world without making contribution to the good of others. Do they not see that the farmer tills the soil for them, the mason constructs the buildings for them, the man who pierces (the pearls) does so for them and everyone else is occupied in a task which has some good for them and they are in need of it? Are they not ashamed that they depend on all the other people in the world? Can they also not help others in some way?<sup>1</sup>)

In the field of literature we come to know that books were written mainly on poetry, history, jurisprudence, traditions, medicine and philosophy and special progress was made in the domain of poetry. The author has given the biographies of many poets quoting their verses. Being a poet himself, he has shown special interest in collecting as many verses as he could.

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1. Ibid. : 49.

He has collected 1589 verses in all. These verses cover the topics of praise blame love, philosophy, nature etc.

Al-Humaydi has made it explicit that the people of Spain travelled far and wide in pursuit of knowledge. They visited places like Syria, Iraq, Makkah, Madinah, Kufa, Basrah, Khurāsān, Qayrawān and Egypt etc. From the biographies of these people we also understand that a good number of renowned teachers flourished at these places at that time.

Al-Humaydi has written in the biography of Muhammad b. Nu'āwya b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, who lived before 300 A.H., that medicine in India had been highly developed in those days and people from Spain visited this country for the sake of medical treatment.<sup>1</sup>

The author has narrated in this work various types of incidents which provide interesting reading.

If there is difference of opinion regarding some incident, he verifies all the available reports and then reaches the logical conclusion. If even then he feels some doubt he says that "in my opinion this is the most correct version but God knows better."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid. : 89-90.

2. Ibid. : 231.

In the tenth part of this work the author has collected the biographies of those people who were known either by their kunyah or nisbah or by their attributes only or of those persons only one of whose forefathers was known. He has also included the biographies of the women in this part. He has devoted a separate chapter to each of these categories. In this part there are 71 biographies, out of which three are of the women. All these three women are prostitutes.

The style of al-Humaydi is simple and one finds no difficulty in understanding it.

As al-Humaydi has written this work living at a place like Baghdad far off from Spain and having very little original sources at his disposal, there is a possibility that he might have committed some errors as he himself has admitted. But by writing this work he has done great service to the historiography of Spain.

In the publishers' note it is given : "In compiling this work al-Humaydi has relied upon his teacher Abū Muhammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad and on his collection of the annals of kings of that nation till the time he left for the East.

"As far as the personal reports of al-Humaydi in al-Jadhwah are concerned, mostly we do not find them anywhere else."

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1. Ibid. : 'Sin'.

This work has been published by al-Dār al-Misriyyah lil-Ta'lif u-al-Tarjūmah, Cairo in 1966.

Jawāmi' al-Sīrah wa-Khamsah Rasā'il Uṭrān by 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'id b. Ḥazm b. Ghālib b. Ḥalīb b. Khālar b. Ma'dān b. Sufyān b. Yaḥyā al-Fārisī, Abū Muḥammad. He was born at Cordova in Ramaḍān 384/November 994 and was brought up in luxury. His father was a minister of Caliph al-Manṣūr and after him of his son al-Muzaḥḥar. In his childhood he studied Arabic language and literature and logic. He also studied poetry and Fiqh. Among his teachers are : Abū 'Umar b. al-Jusūn, Maḥ Yaqyā b. Ma'sūd b. Dāḥyah, Yūnus b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥib, Ḥamān b. Aḥmad, Muḥammad b. Sa'id b. Ḥazm Ḥayān, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Fahī' and 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Ḥamī. Later he served as a minister under al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Aḥir, al-Muzaḥḥar b. al-Manṣūr and al-Mustadhir b. al-Mu'ayyad, one after another. But after some time he gave up the post of minister and was not interested in worldly affairs anymore. He was a poet, historian, jurist, philosopher, theologian and one of the greatest thinkers of Arabo-Muslim civilization. He was a follower of the Shāfi'ī school of jurisprudence. Later he severed his connection with this school and founded a new school of thought, the followers of which were known as the Ḥāshirites. Though it aroused a great opposition from the Faḥims of the prevailing schools, a good number of people became Ibn Ḥazm's followers. Among his disciples was the historian al-Muḥayyī. Ibn Ḥazm died at Mantalishā

in the end of Sha'bān 499/1064 when he was 71 years and ten months of age. He has got to his credit a good number of books in various branches of knowledge. It is said that he has written 400 volumes. The most celebrated among his works are <sup>1</sup> al-Faṣl fi'l-Milal w-al-Ahwā' wa-al-Ṣibāḥ and Jawāmi' al-Ḥamāmah.

Ibn Ḥazm is mainly famous as a jurist and a philosopher. Jawāmi' al-Ṣirah is the only historical work by him which is extant. As the title of the work indicates, its first and largest part is the biography of the prophet. Out of the five articles which form the second part only the last two are of some historical importance.

Most of the information contained in this work is generally found in other works too. Even then among the biographies of the prophet this 'Ṣirah' by Ibn Ḥazm has its own value.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to discuss the contents of this work briefly. But to realize its value fully one has to go through the whole work himself.

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1. Ibn Saḥkūwī : al-Milal : 408-410; al-Ṣibāḥ : Saḥyāt al-Mulammā : 403-405; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī : Lisān al-Mīzān 4:198-202 (Hyderabad, 1330 A.H.); Ibn al-Aṭṭār : al-Lubāb 1:297 (Cairo, 1357 A.H.); al-Ḥaqqarī : Maḥab al-Ṭib 1,2:283-89 (Egypt, 1949 A.D.); al-ʿIrakī : al-A'lām 5:59; Encyclopaedia of Islām x 3:790-91.

At the beginning of the work a preface in 21 pages has been written by the editors. The actual work covers 472 pages. But the 'Bīrah' comes only in 266 pages. The rest of the pages are occupied by the five articles mentioned above and the indexes. The 4th and 5th articles occupy 12 and 28 pages respectively.

Ibn Hazzam has dealt with his subject on a very high plane. He seems to be conscious of the fact that his responsibility is much higher than that of an ordinary historian. This point can be realised fully only if one goes through the whole work.

Ibn Hazzam has laid main emphasis on the point that the Prophet of Islām was a true Prophet and has argued his case in a convincing manner. According to him each activity of the Prophet was a mu'jizah. Actually he considers the whole life of the Prophet as a single Mu'jizah and thinks that no one else could live such a life. Ibn Hazzam has expressed this view in different manners throughout his work. For example in the following passage he has opened that certain occurrences in the life of the Prophet on similar dates or days were nothing less than a Mu'jizah:

ومات له ثلاث وستون سنة - ولد له يوم الاثنين لعنان بقر  
من ربيع الاول وثاني يوم الاثنين لايام خلعت من ربيع الاول  
وماجر يوم الاثنين لايام خلعت لربيع وكان صلى الله عليه وسلم  
يوم الاثنين لعنان خلون لربيع الاول .



(He(the Prophet) died while he was 63 years old. He was born on Monday, when 8 days remained in Rabi' al-Awwal; was granted prophethood on Monday when a few days of Rabi' al-Awwal had passed; migrated on Monday when again a few days of Rabi' had passed and died, may God bless him and grant him peace, on Monday when eight days of Rabi' al-Awwal had elapsed<sup>1</sup>).

Under the title 'A'lām Rasūl Allāh ṣalla Allāh 'Alayhi wa Ṣallam' the author has cited 37 signs of the prophet and has said that there were even more than then. He considers the Qur'ān as a great sign and says:

مَعَا الْقُرْآنَ الَّذِي دَعَا إِلَى صِرَاطٍ وَبِهِمْ أَنَّهُ غُرُوجُ  
قُرْآنًا قَرَأَ إِلَى يَوْمِنَا هَذَا وَالَّذِي بِهِمُ الْفِتْنَةُ - أَلَيْسَ أَنْ بَأْتُوا بِمِثْلِهِ أَنْ  
شَكُّوا فِي صِدْقِهِ مَا عَزَّ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْ ذَلِكَ جَمِيعُ الْبَلَمَةِ وَمَعَ  
الْحَرِّ مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَبِهِمْ

(Among them is the Qur'ān which called the Arabs and others century after century since God all-mighty and powerful deputed him as prophet till our own time and till the day of resurrection that they may produce a book similar to it if they doubt its truth. But God all-mighty made all the <sup>2</sup> eloquent people unable to do so. He also prevented the Jinns and others from fulfilling this task).

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1. Ibn Hishām : Jawāmi' al-Sīrah : 7.

2. Ibid. : 7.

In this work Ibn Hazm has studied the prophet's life as deeply as he could and has drawn many conclusions of his own which differ from those of the others. As for example, the general view is that the prophet's father died before his birth. But Ibn Hazm has said:

ولد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بمكة وكان يتيماً له مات أبوه  
وهو عليه السلام لم يكمل له ثلاث سنين<sup>1</sup>.

(The Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, was born in Mecca and lived as an orphan as his father died when he was not even three years old).

Ibn Hazm's arguments are highly logical. He does not accept an information on its face value but goes deep into it and tries to find out the real truth. For example, in the following passage he has tried to prove the year of the battle of al-Khandaq in his own style:

ثم كانت غزوة الخندق في شوال من السنة الخامسة من الهجرة هكذا  
قال أصحاب السيفين والثابت إنما في الرابعة بلا شك لأحد  
ابن عمر :- " عرضت على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم أحد  
وأنا ابن أربع عشرة سنة فوثق ثم عرضت عليه يوم الخندق وأنا  
ابن خمس عشرة سنة فأجازني " . فصح أنه لم يكن يومئذ إلا سنة  
واحدة فقط وأنا قبل دومة الجندل بلا شك .

(Then the battle of al-Khandaq took place in Shawāl, 5 A.H. This is what the writers of the accounts of

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1. Ibid. : 5.

the battles fought by the Prophet have said. But it has been established beyond doubt that it took place in 4 A.H. as the following hadith narrated by Ibn 'Umar indicates: "I was presented to the Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, on the day of the battle of U<sup>1</sup>hd when I was 14 years old but he sent me back. Then I was presented to him on the day of the battle of al-Khandaq. Then I was fifteen years old and he permitted me (to take part in the battle)." Hence the correct version is that no more than one year elapsed between these two battles and it (the battle of al-Khandaq) undoubtedly took place before (the battle of) <sup>2</sup>Marrah al-Jandal).

While describing the battle of Badr the second, he has devoted 32 pages to the names and surnames of the Muslim participants only. This may be of little interest to the reader but it establishes beyond doubt the number of those companions who took part in this battle.

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1. The battle of U<sup>1</sup>hd was fought in 3 A.H. (Ibid. : 156).
  2. The battle of Marrah al-Jandal took place in <sup>1</sup>lailat al-Awwal 5 A.H. (Ibid : 185).

Ibn Hazm has given definite dates of important incidents and has left no place for ambiguity in this matter.

As far as the language of the work is concerned, Ibn Hazm has made use of the best qualities of Arabic language. His mastery over the language is manifested in his simple style and clear expression. Economy in the use of words is another strong point of his style.

To conclude it may be said that this work is of great value in the field of Arabic biographies in general and in the field of the Prophet's biographies in particular.

Jumal Futūḥ al-Islām Ba'd Rasūl Allāh ṣalla Allāh

'Alayhi wa Ṣallam: This is the title of the fourth article included in 'Jawāmi' al-Ḍirah wa Khamsah Rasā'il Uḡrā.' The following are the names of the caliphs mentioned in this article under whom the conquests were made : Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, Mu'awiyah, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, Abū Jā'far al-Manṣūr, 'Abd Allāh al-Mu'min and al-Mu'tasim.

The author has also mentioned the names of places conquered and the names of the commanders under whom the conquests were made. The names of the important places conquered are: Syria, Al-Jazīrah, Armīniyah, Ṭabaristān, Egypt, Spain, Sicily, Crete, Constantinople, Madā'in and 'Irāq, Hulwān, Ijīstān and

Kābūl, Khurāsān and al-Sind.

From this article one can get a general idea of the conquests made during the early Islamic period.

The title of the fifth article is : Asmā' al-Khulafā' al-Rashidiyyīn wa-al-A'imma 'Umarā' al-Mu'miniin wa-Asmā' al-Sulāt-Min Quraysh wa Min Banī Hāshim — 'Uṣūr al-Muslimīn wa Dhikr Muradithihim 'Ilā Zama'nihā

It covers 28 pages, from page 353 to 380. The title itself is indicative of its contents. The author has given in it the account of 43 caliphs briefly. Besides the four pious caliphs and Hasan b. 'Alī, whom the author has also counted among the pious caliphs contrary to the common belief, 14 Umayyad and 26 'Abbāsid caliphs have been included in it.

Under the name of each Caliph the author has narrated the memorable incidents which took place during his regime. He has also given the name of the mother of each ruler, the year in which he ascended to the throne and the duration of his reign.

Ibn Hama has concluded the article with the account of al-Qā'im Billāh 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qādir Billāh. In this manner the article contains the historical account of the Islamic world upto 423 A.H. But it is sad that Ibn Hama did not attempt to write the history of the Islamic world after the Prophet's death as elaborately as he wrote upto this period.

This work has been edited by Dr. Ihsān 'Abbās and Dr. Ḥajir al-Dīn al-'Asad and published by Dār al-Ma'ārif, Egypt.

Al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifah al-Ashāb by Abū 'Umar, Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Hamarrī, a great traditionist, jurist and historian Ibn Abd al-Barr was born in Cordova in 362/972. He never went out of Spain but acquired a good education under the reputed traditionists of Cordova and those teachers who visited it from other places. Among his teachers are included Abū al-Ḥasim Khālid b. al-Ḥasim al-Hāfiz, 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sufyān, Sa'īd b. Naṣr, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Asad Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jasūr, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sājī, Abū al-ʿAlīd b. al-Faradī, Yūnus b. 'Abd Allāh al-ʿAdī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh az al-Haqqarī al-Talankī. He held the post of qāḍī at Lisbon and Santarém under al-Muḥaffar b. al-Aftas and died at Jativa in 463/1071. He has a good number of works to his credit. Among them are : (1) Kitāb Jamī' Bayān al-Islām (2 vols); (2) al-Durar fī Ikhtisār al-Maghāzī w-al-Biyar; (3) al-Shawāhid fī Iḥbāt al-Khabar al-Sāhid; (4) al-Taḥqīq li-lā fī al-Huṣṣat; (5) Akhbār al-ʿImam al-Aṣḡar (7 vols); (6) al-Bayān 'an Tilāwah al-Qur'ān; (7) al-Taḥfīd w-al-Maḥḥal ilā 'Ilm al-Qur'ān (2 vols); (8) al-Iktifā fī ʿIrā'ah Ḥafī' wa-Abī 'Asr al-'Alā; (9) al-Kāfī fī al-Fiqh 'Alā Maḥḥab Ahl al-Madīnah (16 volumes);

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1. Al-Jabbi in Sughyat al-Multani : 474 has given his year of birth as 362 A.H.

(11) *Ihtilāf Ashāb* : 'Alīk b. Anas' wa *Ihtilāf Riwayāhim*; (12) *al-'Aql wa-al-'Uqalā'*; (13) *Bahjāh al-Mujālis* wa '*Ush al-Mujālis* (2 vols); (14) *al-Intiqā' fī Faḍā'il al-Ṭahāṭih al-A'laṣh al-Fuḡahā'* and (15) *Huzbah al-Mustanti'in* wa *Ḥawḍah al-Khā'irīn*.<sup>1</sup>

The work under discussion is a biographical dictionary of the Prophet and his companions. The author has used superlative terms to describe the good qualities of the companions.

In this work the author has mentioned the cause for which Islām stands, that is to guide the mankind to the right path. He has also thrown light on the social and cultural background of Arabia at the time of the advent of Islām. At the same time he has indicated the weakness caused to Islām due to the distrust and disunity among the Muslims after the Prophet and the pious caliphs.

*Al-Isti'āb* is in four volumes of almost equal length. All the four volumes put together contain 3633 biographies. In the first volume there are 589 biographies. The next three volumes contain 838, 1002 and 1156 biographies respectively. The

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1. Ibn Saḡkūnāl : *al-Jilāh* : 616-18; *al-Jabbi* : *Sughyat al-Multamīs* : 474-76; *al-Jahabi* : *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuḡ'āz* 3:1128-33 (Hyderabad, India, 1957); *al-'Irḡāl* : *al-A'lām* 9:316-17; '*Ushar Ridā Kahḡālāh* : *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn* 13 : 313-13.

first volume consists of 414 pages and the second 418 pages. In the third and fourth volumes there are 575 and 529 pages respectively. The account of the persons dealt with is given according to their names in alphabetical order.

The first volume of al-Isti'āb begins with a preface by the editor, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, in two pages in which he has discussed the importance of the book. It is followed by an introduction by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr himself in 25 pages. In it he has discussed the important aspects of the lives and activities of the companions. He has concluded it with the explanation why he compiled a work of this nature. Before beginning the work in alphabetical order the author has given the biography of the Prophet in 29 pages and that of his son, Ibrāhīm, in seven pages. By giving the biography of the Prophet's son in the beginning of his work the author has expressed his respect towards the Prophet's family.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has divided the work mainly into two sections. The first section is devoted to men and the second to women. In the first sections under each alphabet, the people bearing the same name are dealt with separately and a separate portion is reserved for such names which are not borne by more than one person. In the second section he has not followed this practice. The biographies of those persons who



are known only by their 'kunya' are also given separately in alphabetical order at the end of each section.

In the first section the largest number of biographies come under the alphabets ' ا ' (161), ' ح ' (212), ' ع ' (107), ' س ' (279), ' ش ' (789) and ' م ' (341). Under ' م ' there are 37 persons who are having the name Ma'd. Under ' ع ' 'Amir, 'Abd al-Bahmān, 'Abd Allāh and 'Aar have 25, 30, 229 and 83 names respectively. There are 53 persons having the name Mālik and 30 the name Muḥammad under ' م '. In the section devoted to women there are only 402 biographies in total. In this section no name is given under the alphabets ' ج ', ' ل ' and ' ن '. Generally the work contains very short biographies. Sometimes we are astonished to see that a biography is completed in a single line or even in half of it. It is gain saying that such biographies are little informative and hence not valuable at all. They have only increased the number of the people covered by the work. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has allotted space to persons according to their importance. The following are the companions to whom the author has allotted the largest number of pages:

(1) Suar b. Arṭāt (10); (2) Ḥanzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (8); (3) al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (10); (4) al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (8); (5) 'Ayyād b. Abū Sufyān (8); (6) Ḥuwayb b. 'Aṣṣan al-Fuṣṭī (8); (7) 'Abdān b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (8); (8) 'Abd Allāh b. Abī 'Aḥafah, Abū Bakr al-Madīq (16); (9) 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (8); (10) 'Uḥayyān b. 'Aṣṣan (17); (11) 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (45);

(12) 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (16); and (13) 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ (8).

The following are the names of those companions who were also reputed as poets. To them the author has allotted quite a large number of pages: (1) Suḥayr b. Ḥubayr (2); (2) Ḥassān b. Ibrāhīm (11); (3) Ka'b b. Ḥubayr (9); (4) Labīd b. Rabī'ah al-ʿAmirī (4); and (5) al-Ḥabibah al-Ja'dī (9).

There are 24 companions to whom the author has allotted between five and seven pages.

Among the women the following are those to whom he has allotted comparatively a larger number of pages: (1) Khadijah, daughter of Khumaylid (wife of the Prophet) (2); (2) Khansā', daughter of 'Amr (the rootless) (3); (3) Ruqiyah, daughter of the Prophet (5); (4) Hamnah, daughter of Abū Sufyān and wife of the Prophet (4); (5) Laynah, daughter of Jahsh and wife of the Prophet (4); (6) 'Ātikah, daughter of Sayd b. 'Amr (5); (7) 'Ā'ishah, daughter of Abū Bakr al-Siddīq and wife of the Prophet (3) and (3) Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet (7).

Under each biography he has generally provided such information as the name of the person with genealogy, the time when he embraced Islam, his character before accepting Islam, the wars in which he took part after becoming a Muslim, the ḥadīth narrated by him, his closeness to the Prophet and the date of his death. In the case of the poets the author has

quoted some of their important verses and in the case of other companions he has mentioned their special qualities.

The author has quoted 1310 verses composed by the companions as well as some poets of the jāhiliyyah period. Among them the number of verses by the companions is quite large. These verses mostly fall under the following categories: (i) eulogy of the Prophet, (ii) glorification of Islam, (iii) description of the character of the Arabs, particularly their pride and (iv) elegy, poems describing wars have also been included in the book.

At the beginning of the biography of the Prophet Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has connected his genealogical chain with Ādam. In this connection he has quoted the following words of the Prophet:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ اصْطَفَىٰ كَنَانَةَ مِن وَلَدِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَاصْطَفَىٰ لَهْرَاشَ مِن كَنَانَةَ  
وَاصْطَفَىٰ مِن لَهْرَاشَ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ وَاصْطَفَانِي مِن بَنِي هَاشِمٍ

(Verily Allāh selected Kinnah from among the progeny of Ismā'īl and selected Quraysh from among Kinnah and Banū Hāshim were selected from among Quraysh<sup>1</sup> and I was selected from among Banū Hāshim).

Then he has provided such details about the Prophet as his family, birth, childhood and marriage. All these facts are

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1. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr : al-Istī'āb : 26-7.

well known and there is nothing new in the information given by him. He has particularly given a detailed account of the Prophet's wives who were eleven in number. As Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has said, there is no controversy about their number and names. They were: (1) Sawdah, daughter of Zam'ah b. Qays; (2) Hafṣah, daughter of Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; (3) Zaynab, daughter of Khunaymah; (4) Ummu Salma, daughter of Abū Mayyah b. al-Mughīrah; (5) Juwayriyah, daughter of al-Hārith b. Abū Ḥirār; (6) Maymūnah, daughter of al-Hārith and (7) Ṣafiyah, daughter of Huyayy b. Akhtab al-Yahūdī. (8) Khadijah, daughter of Khuwaylid (9) Ramlah, daughter of Abū Sufyān (10) Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh and (11) 'Ā'ishah, daughter of Abū Bakr al-Siddīq.

Out of these eleven six belonged to the tribe of Quraysh, four to other Arabian tribes and one to Banū Irā'il.

The Prophet is reported to have had eight children, four male and four female. All of them, except Ibrāhīm who was born to Māriyah al-Qibṭiyah, were born to Khadijah. They are: Zaynab, Ummu Kulthūm, Ruqīyah, Fāṭimah, Qāsim, 'Abd Allāh and Ṭahīr.

As has been mentioned above, the work contains glimpses of the social and cultural life of Arabia and some other countries of Asia and Africa during the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. For example, the social conditions prevailing in Egypt during the Prophet's time have been described to be so deplorable that women were used as property and not as human beings. The ruler of Egypt himself presented Māriyah al-Qibṭiyah and her

sister to the prophet as is evident from the following quotation:

وكانت مارية القبطية قد أعداها إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
 وآله وسلم المفقوس صاحب الاسكندرية وسمرقني واختها سهرين .

The following extract proves that certain tribes of the Arabs were considered to be higher than the others:

ثم إن نصلبه بن سمية وأسيد بن سمية وأسد بن عبد وحم  
 من بني هذيل ليسوا من بني قريظة ولا النضير نسبهم فوق ذلك .

(Verily Tha'labah b. Sa'yah, Usayd b. Sa'yah and Asad  
 b. 'Ubayd belonged to Banū Huthayl; They did not  
 belong to Banū Quraydah or al-Hudayr. Their lineage  
 was higher than them).

In the biography of Abī al-Lahm al-Ghaffārī the author has written:

قد قيل انه كان يمانى ان يأكل لحماً ذبي طين النصب  
 (It is said that he refused to eat the flesh sacrificed  
 at altars).<sup>3</sup>

Here the author wants to make us aware of the Jāhiliyah ritual of sacrificing animals on altars. He also tells us that a group of people hesitated to take this flesh.

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1. Ibid. : 59.

2. Ibid. : 79.

3. Ibid. : 135.

Generosity and hospitality were the noble qualities of which the pre-Islamic Arabs were particularly proud. In the following tradition the Prophet himself has admitted this fact:

روى أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ذكر الحارث بن هشام  
وفصله في الجاهلية في قري السيف وأطعمهم الطعام فقال : إن  
الحارث لسرى وإن كان أبوه لسيئاً ولو ددت أن الله عداه إلى  
الاسلام .

(It is reported that the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, has mentioned al-Jārith b. Hishām and his deeds of entertaining the guests and giving them food in the Jāhiliyah and said: Verily al-Jārith b. Hishām is one of the noble persons. If this father was also a noble man, I would have liked him to be guided to Islām by Allah<sup>1</sup>).

The following extract shows the nature of worship in the Jāhiliyah periods:

بلغنا أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال : يا حسين ما  
تمجد؟ أمجد عشرة أئمة : قال : وما هم ؟ قال : خمسة في الأرض  
وواحد في السماء . قال : فمن لأحبتكم ؟ قال : الذي في السماء  
قال : فمن تطهركم قال : الذي في السماء .

(It has come to us that the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, asked him: Oh Husayn, what do you

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1. Ibid. : 302-3.

worship? I worship ten gods (replied Husayn). He asked : what are they? He replied: nine of them are on the earth and one in the sky. He asked: then whom do you desire? He replied: the one in the sky! He asked : and who is your object? He replied : the one in the sky<sup>1</sup>).

When the author says about Ḥakīm b. Ḥasan, a companion of the Prophet : 'In the Jāhiliyah he set free one hundred slaves'<sup>2</sup> ( اعلى في انجاليه مائة رقة ) we come to know that in the Jāhiliyah period also a group of people considered slavery to be a social evil and did their best to eliminate it.

The following quotation shows the popularity of the syriac language in Arabia during the Prophet's time:

وكان زيد يكتب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الرقي وهو  
وكانت ترد على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كتب بالسريانية  
فامر زيدا فتعلمنا في خمسة عشر يوماً .

(Zayd used to write for the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, the revelations and other things. Letters in Syriac used to come to the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him. So he ordered Zayd (to learn the language) and he learnt it in a little more than ten days<sup>3</sup>).

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1. Ibid., : 302-3.
  2. Ibid. : 352.
  3. Ibid. : 338.

The following quotation makes us understand that all the Arabs in <sup>the</sup> Jāhiliyah period were not bad but there were at least some persons who lived a noble life and were in search of truth:

وكان فهو زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل يطلب دين الحنيفه دين ابراهيم  
عليه السلام قبل ان يبعث النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وكان لا يذبح  
لأصاب ولا يأكل الميتة والدم .

(His father, Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, was in search of the true religion, the religion of Ibrāhīm, blessings of Allāh be upon him, before the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, received revelation; he never sacrificed (animals) at altars and did not eat the dead animals or blood).<sup>1</sup>

In the biography of Sa'id b. al-'Ās it is written:

قال له : وسلك الله بيني وبينك الى دواة رحلته وان  
لي مولاى فلان فاني بذلك فكتب له بمصنوعه الله درهمين عليه .

(Then he told him : Oh the son of my brother! Allāh has brought you to me; ask that an inkpot and leather be brought to me and summon such and such servant of mine. All those things were brought to him and he wrote for him 20,000 dirhams as a loan).<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid. : 615.

2. Ibid. : 623.



It indicates that the people living at that time wrote on leather instead of paper.

The custom of drawing lots for making decisions was quite common among the Arabs during the Jāhiliyyah period. The following quotation ~~explains~~ throws light on this custom:

وكان إسلام صفوان بن أمية بعد الفتح وكان صفوان بن أمية  
أحد أشراف قريش من الجاهلية وأبيه كانت يسمي الأيسار وهي  
الازلام فكان لا يسبق بأمر عام حتى يكون هو الذي يجره يسره  
على يديه .

(Ṣafwān b. Umayyah embraced Islam after the conquest  
(of Makkah). Ṣafwān b. Umayyah was one of the nobles  
of the Quraysh during the Jāhiliyyah and was incharge  
of drawing lots with arrows. He did not undertake  
even an ordinary task until it was he who drew the  
(favourable) arrow with his own hands).<sup>1</sup>

There was a group of people in different parts of Arabia  
who were disgusted with the conditions prevailing in the Jāhiliyyah  
period and had adopted the right path even before the advent of  
Islam. Ḥarith b. Abū Annas was one of them. His character is  
depicted as:

كان رجلاً قد ارمى في الجاهلية وليس المسيء وفارق الأوثان  
واغتسل من الجنابة واجتنب الحائض من النساء وهم بالنسوة

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1. Ibid. : 731.

ثم استعاضا وحسرتا له فاعطاه مسجدا لا يدخل عليه فيه  
طامة ولا حجب وان : أشهد رب إبراهيم وأنا على دين إبراهيم  
لم يزل بذلك حتى قدم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم المدينة فأسلم  
وحسن إسلامه .

(There was a man in the Jāhiliyyah period who adopted  
ascetic life, wore monks' dress, gave up idol worship,  
took bath for major ritual impurities, kept himself  
away from menstruating women, intended to embrace  
christianity but refrained from doing so. He entered  
one of his houses and made it a mosque where nobody  
having menstrual or major ritual impurities entered.  
He said: I worship the Lord of Ibrāhīm and I am on  
his religion. He continued like this until the Prophet,  
peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, came to  
Madinah. Then he embraced Islām and became a good  
Muslim).

After the death of the Prophet when Abū Juhārah was told  
about the selection of his son, Abū Bakr al-Siddīq, as the  
Caliph he wondered and asked:

فهل ربي بذلك يتوحد بنات و بنو السميرة؟ لا تابع لنا أمضى الله  
ولا معطى لنا منكم .

(Hove banū 'Abd Manāf and banū al-Mughīrah agreed to

this choice? No one prevents what Allāh gives and  
no one gives what He prevents).<sup>1</sup>

It indicates that the tribes of Banū 'Abd Manāf and Banū al-Mughārah were supposed to be most obstinate.

The following extract throws light on the part played by certain important persons as ambassadors to end the feuds among the Arab tribes in the Jāhiliyyah ages:

قال النوير : وكان عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه من أشراف قريش  
والله كانت السراة في الجاهلية ودركه ان قريشاً كانت اذا  
وقعت بينهم حرب راسلوا غيرهم بممنوا صلحاً .

(Al-Zubayr has said: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may Allāh be pleased with him, was one of the noble men of the Quraysh; he held the office of ambassador in the Jāhiliyyah period. It means if war broke out between the Quraysh and others they sent an ambassador (to represent their case)).<sup>2</sup>

The following quotation reveals, the funny religious practices of the nomadic Arabs:

أدركت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأنا شاب أعرج . قال : ولم  
لأناسا كانوا اضل من العرج وكانوا يجتنبون بأشياء البهائم فيصيدونها  
فيحرقون الذئب مذهب بها فيأخذون أعرج . فكانوا فيصيدونها و اذا

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1. Ibid. : 976.

2. Ibid. : 1145.

رأوا صخرة حسنة جاراً بها و ذموا بطون الهيا . فإذا رأوا صخرة  
أحسن من ذلك رموها و جاراً بذاك يعبدونها .

(Abū Hājā said: I came to the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, when I was a youth having no beard and heard him saying: I did not see a people who were more misguided than the Arabs. They brought white goats and worshipped them; then a wolf came and took them away. They took other goats in their place and began to worship them. If they saw a nice rock, they brought it and started offering prayers to it. Then if they saw a rock better than it, they threw away the first one and brought the second one and worshipped it).<sup>1</sup>

The author has quoted many Qurānic verses and traditions of the Prophet in this work. He has also referred to the noble qualities of many companions of the Prophet.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has collected information regarding the personal and social life of the Prophet. According to him the Prophet had set the most noble example for the whole world as a son, husband, father, companion, commander of the army and ruler. The following extract from the biography of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the husband of the Prophets daughter, Ruqaiyah, discloses the concern of the Prophet for her when she was sick:

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1. Ibid. : 1210-11.

هاجر الى ارض الحبشة فلما بدى مع زوجته رقية بنت رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه وسلم وكان ابن علي اليها وتابها سائر  
المهاجرين الى ارض الحبشة ثم هاجر الهجرة الثانية ابن المدينة ولم  
يتعد بدرًا لطفه على نعيه زوجته رقية - كانت طيلة تأمره  
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بالتخلف طبعًا .

(He ('Uthmān) migrated to Abyssinia along with his  
wife Ruqaiyah, daughter of the Prophet, peace and  
blessings of Allāh be upon him, in order to safe-  
guard his religion. He was the first to go there.  
He was followed by all the other migrants to  
Abyssinia. Then he undertook the second Migration  
to Madīnah. He was not present in the battle of Badr  
because he remained behind to look after his wife,  
Ruqaiyah. She was ill and the Prophet, peace and  
blessings of Allāh be upon him, ordered him to stay  
back in order to attend her).

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has incorporated in this work many  
examples of the Prophet's love for children, especially for his  
grandson Husayn. He has also referred to the Prophet's affection  
for his uncle 'Abbās when the latter was imprisoned by the  
Muslims in the battle of Badr.

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1. Ibid. : 1038.

2. Ibid. : 397-98.

3. Ibid. : 811-12.

The following extract gives the administrative insight of the Prophet:

وكان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قد قسم اليمن على خمسة رجال في خالد بن سعيد على صنعاء والمهاجرين بن أمية على كعدة ونهاد بن لبيد على حضرموت ومعاذ بن جبل على الجند وأبي موسى الأشعري على زبيد وهدن والساحل وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لمعاذ بن جبل حين رآه إلى اليمن : يا معاذ قال : يا أبا عبد الله قال : فان لم تجد . قال : يا أبا عبد الله قال : فان لم تجد . قال : اجئت رأيي فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : الحمد لله الذي وفق رسول رسول الله لما يمشي به رسول الله .

(The Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, had divided al-Yaman among five persons. He had appointed Khālid b. Sa'īd as the governor of san'ā', al-Muhājir b. Abī Usayyah as the governor of Kindah, Riyād b. Labīd as the governor of Hadrāmawt, Mu'ādh b. Jabal as the governor of al-Jand and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī as the governor of Zabīd, 'Adan and al-Sāhil. The Prophet asked Mu'ādh b. Jabal, when he sent him to al-Yaman : According to what will you take decision regarding various matters? He replied: According to what is given in the book of Allāh. He asked: If you do not find (in it)? He replied : According to what is in the Sunnah

(norms) of the Messenger of Allāh. He asked: If you do not find (in it)? He replied: I will judge independently according to my own opinion. Then the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, said: Praise be to Allāh who led the messenger of the Messenger of Allāh to the path which the Messenger of Allāh likes<sup>1</sup>.

In this work Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has referred to many Mu'jizas of the Prophet. The following quotation is one such example:

عن ابن مسعود : قال : كنت ارضى غنماً لملية بن ابي مصلح نمر  
 بن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال لي : يا غلام هل من لبن؟  
 فقلت نعم ولكنني مؤتمن . قال : فمهل من شاء فاحلب لم ينز  
 طبعها الا حبل؟ فانهت بشاة صبيح منوشا فاحلب فاحلب في انا  
 وشرب وشفا اياكم ثم قال النبي : اقلن لبناً .

(It is reported from Ibn Mas'ūd that he said: I was grazing the sheep of 'Uqbah b. al-Ash'ari when the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, passed by me and asked me: Oh boy, do you have milk? I replied: Yes, but I am only a trustee. He asked: Then do you have a barren sheep when the stallion has not copulated? So I brought to him a sheep and he touched its udder; milk came out and

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1. Ibid. : 1403-1404.

he milked it in a pot and drank. He also gave it to Abū Bakr to drink. Then he said to the udder<sup>1</sup> shrink and it shrank).

The following tradition, in which the Prophet has predicted the fate of his community after him, is an example of his foresight:

روى عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال : يكون بعدى خلفاء  
وبعد الخلفاء أمراء وبعد الأمراء ملوك وبعد الملوك حكام وبعد  
الحكام بحر - رجل من أهل بيتي يملأ الأرض عدلاً

(It has been reported from the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, that he said: After me there will be caliphs, after the Caliphs Amīrs, after the Amīrs Kings, after the kings Tyrants and after the tyrants a man from my family will come out and fill the earth with<sup>2</sup> justice).

The author has mentioned the geographical conditions of the countries to which Islām spread during the early<sup>reported</sup> For example about Sind he has written:

وهو الذي بعثه عثمان إلى الهند فتزلفا ثم قدم على عثمان وسأله  
عنه فقال : مأوما وشل راسها بطل وسقطها جبل ان كرا ارجند

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1. Ibid. : 987-88.

2. Ibid. : 231.



بها جاموا وان قتلوا بها ضاعوا فلم يرجع حمار اليها احداً  
من قتل

(It was he (Hakīm b. Jahlah) who was sent by 'Uthmān to Sind. So he descended there. Then he returned to 'Uthmān and the latter asked him about it (Sind) He replied : the water there is small in quantity, the robbers are brave, the plains are like mountains. If the army there is large (in number) it remains hungry and if it is small it is killed. After hearing this 'Uthmān did not send anyone to it (Sind) till he was killed<sup>1</sup>).

The author has also described that education at that time was not limited only to the study of the Qur'ān and Hadīth. In this connection he has further said that the genealogy of the people, astronomy and Arabic language were also taught during the regime of Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has paid special attention to the genealogy of the companions of the Prophet. While quoting the chain of narrators of traditions, the author has also provided information about them though repetition has taken place in certain cases. For example, the information that the Prophet got the two sisters, 'Ariyah al-Jibāyah and Sirīn, as presentation, along with other articles, from the ruler of Alexandria,

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1. Ibid. : 366.

2. Ibid. : 462.

al-Huḡawāḡ, married Māriyah himself and gave Sīrīn in marriage to Ḥassān b. Ibrāhīm. This is given in the biographies of all these four persons. In some other cases we come across the same information three or four times in the biography of the same person; only the sources differ. The author has also given all the different versions about a particular incident if there are any.

The style of the work is the same as of other collections of the traditions.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has given the list of the sources which he has used in his work in its introduction.

Though much information of political nature has been provided in the work, it still lacks in information regarding certain events. For example, not much information of political importance about the wars fought in Islām has been given. Actually Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's approach is mainly religious rather than political. Anyhow, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajūrī, the editor of this work, has commented on it as follows:

وهو من أهم كتب التراجم وأصل من أصول التاريخ الإسلامي  
والكتاب أشجع من غيره من المؤرخين لرجال الإسلام ورجع  
إليه كل من كتب في الصحابة ووفقه كثير من تالفوا عنه

(It is one of the most important biographical works  
and one of the sources of Islamic history.

It is a fundamental work on which many historians  
have relied for writing the history of the great men of

Islām. All those who have written on the companions have turned to it and all those who have quoted from it consider it to be reliable).

This work has been published by Maktabah Sahāh, Cairo in 1939 A.D.

Al-Durr fī Ihtigār al-ṣaḥābā u-al-ṣiyar by the same author.

This may be considered as a political biography of the Prophet. In it Ibn 'Abd al-Durr has discussed all the important activities of the Prophet which may be said to be of political importance. It also seems to be a complimentary work to the previous one which we have already discussed. The author has introduced this work thus:

هذا كتاب اختصرت فيه ذكر حيث انتهى على الله عليه وسلم رايت  
نبوته واول امره في رسالته وصدائيه وسيره فيها لا في ذكرك  
مولده ووفاته في كتابك وحيثما لم اجد في كتابك من الصحابة  
وافردت هذا الكتاب بذكر خبره في حياته واولاده عليه وسلم

(This is a book in which I have mentioned briefly the mission of the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, the beginning of his prophethood, his attitude during the earlier part of his mission, his battles and his behaviour in them because in the beginning of my book on the companions I have mentioned his birth, how he grew, and various historical events in his life. Hence I have singled out this

book for all the news regarding his mission and his times, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him<sup>1</sup>).

The work consists of 361 pages in all. But the text covers only 259 pages. The editor, Shavqī Dayf, has written an introduction in 13 pages. The photostat copies of two pages of the original work have also been provided. The text starts from page 30 after a short introduction by the author in one page. At the end of the work indexes have been given in 61 pages.

As the title of the work indicates, the author has given detailed information about the wars and the expeditions with which the Prophet was connected openly or secretly. While doing so, he has incorporated in it a number of Qur'ānic verses, traditions of the Prophet and verses by the poets. Information about different Arabian tribes and peoples has also been provided. This work deals with both the pre-Islamic Arabian life as well as the political conditions prevailing in the early Islamic period. Hence it throws much light on the various aspects of the Prophet's life.

In this work all the information is given chronologically. Each turning point in the life of the Prophet is discussed under a separate chapter. To each chapter the author has allotted

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1. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr : al-Istisārah fī Ihtifāz al-Maghāzī wal-Mayāt : 29.

space according to its importance. The whole work is divided into eight chapters. The fifth chapter is the largest covering 165 pages. It deals with the battles fought and the expeditions sent by the Prophet while he was in Madiinah. The remaining seven chapters cover between four and 28 pages each.

While dealing with the battles, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has tried to give all the minute details about them. He is very particular about giving the date and year of the occurrence of each incident. Sometimes he has even mentioned the day. He has also indicated the intervening time between two incidents. He has paid much attention to the location of various places and the distance between them. He has also mentioned the names of the prisoners of wars, both Muslims and non-Muslims. While giving these names he has always indicated the tribe or family to which they belonged. All this data adds much to the historical value of the work.

As has been mentioned above, this work throws much light on many aspects of Islam and the life of the Prophet. Modesty, giving alms to the poor, helping the afflicted and entertaining the guests were some of the most prominent characteristics of the Prophet even in his early life. When Allah ordained him as Prophet humanity was passing through a dark age. He brought them out of this darkness and led them to the right path. Any amount of suffering was not too much for him in fulfilling his

object. The following quotation throws light on the modesty of the Prophet:

لما بنيت الكعبة ذهب عباس والنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بقلان  
الحجارة فقال عباس للنبي : احمل ازارك على رقتك (بكره)  
من الحجارة فحمل فخر الى الأرض وطمحت عنها الى السماء  
ثم قام قال : ازين ازارك فتدعه عليه .

(When the Ka'bah was built 'Abbās and the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, began to carry stones. 'Abbās said to the Prophet put your apron on your neck (so that it may protect you) from the stones. The Prophet did so but soon fell on the ground and his eyes turned towards the sky. Then he stood up and said: my apron, my apron. So 'Abbās tied it around his body).

The following words of Khadijah at the time when the Prophet informed her that God had sent revelation to him reveal certain aspects of his character in the most beautiful manner:

قال : يا خديجة : مالي وأهليها الهرم ، وقال : قد خشيت على  
نفسى فقلت له : لا أبشر فوالله لا يحزنك الله (لهذا) انك  
لعل الرحم وتصدق الحديث وتحمل الكل (وتكسب المصدم  
وتطوى الصف وتصفى على نواب الحق .

(He (the Prophet) said: "Oh Khadijah, what has happened to me?" Then told her the news and said: "I am afraid

about myself," she replied: never be afraid: be happy! By Allāh, He will never disgrace you: Verily you restore (the broken) relationship, speak truth, carry burden, give (alms) to the poor, entertain the guests and help people when they face calamities for the sake of the right).<sup>1</sup>

In spreading the message of Islam the Prophet and his companions had to face great hardship at the hands of their enemies. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr<sup>2</sup> once the Quraysh discontinued all business with the Muslims, annulled all treaties, gave up matrimonial relations with them and put them into difficulty in all possible ways.

The Prophet was not only a leader in peace but also in war. The following quotation throws light on this aspect of his life:

وقالوا : يا رسول الله ان شئت فارح • فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ما ينبغي لنبى اذا ليس لامه ان يخصما حتى يقاتل • فخرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في ألف من اصحابه •

(They said: Oh the Messenger of Allāh, you may return if you please. The Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, replied: it is not

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1. Ibid. : 34.

2. Ibid. : 57.

desirable for a prophet to remove his cuirass once he has put it on until he takes part in the battle. Then the prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, started with one thousand companions<sup>1</sup>).

The companions of the prophet had no doubt about the righteousness of his mission. Islam and the prophet were dearer to them than even their own lives. The following examples amply prove it:

وكان شعار أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم أحد  
أنت . أنت .

- (1) (The slogan of the companions of the prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, on the day of Uhud was: kill me, kill me)<sup>2</sup>.

وقال له أبو سفيان بن حرب : أيسر لك يا سفيان - أن يحدانا  
عدونا بمكة تغرب عنه . وانك سالم في أهلك فقال : والله ما  
يسرني أني سالم في أهلي وإن يصيب عدوا شوكه تؤذي .

- (2) (Abū Sufyān b. Harb asked him: Oh Khubayb - will you remain happy if you are safe with your family and Muhammad is murdered while he is with us in Bakkaah? He replied: By Allāh, I cannot remain happy if I am safe with my family while Muhammad is<sup>3</sup> afflicted with a thorn which may cause him pain).

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1. Ibid : 154.

2. Ibid.: 156.

3. Ibid : 169.



This determination and devotion of the companions helped much in fulfilling the task which God had ordained for the Prophet.

One of the most outstanding features of the Prophet's character was his compassion and kindness. In the battlefield too he was not otherwise. He was particularly merciful to the weaker sections of the people. He always forbade that any harm be done to the women and children. In this connection the author has written:

وَأَمْرٌ عَلَيْهِمُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ جِدَالُهُ بَيْنَ عَدُوِّهِ  
وَبَحْلُهُمْ عَنْ قَتْلِ النِّسَاءِ وَالسِّبْيَانِ .

(The Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, appointed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atāk their commander and forbade them to kill women and children).

The Prophet's foresight in military affairs has been revealed in the following extracts:

وَكُتِبَ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ جَحْشٍ كِتَابًا وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ لَا يَنْظُرَ فِيهِ حَتَّى يَمِيرَ  
بِهِمْ ثُمَّ يَنْظُرَ فِيهِ وَلَا يَسْكُرْ أَحَدًا مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ وَكَانَ أَهْرَاسُ  
عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ جَحْشٍ مَا أَمَرَهُ بِهِ فَلَمَّا نَجَّحَ الْكِتَابَ وَقَرَأَهُ وَجَدَ فِيهِ  
إِذَا نَظَرْتُ فِي كِتَابِي هَذَا فَاصْبِرْ حَتَّى تَنْزِلَ بَحْلَةٌ بَيْنَ مَكَّةَ وَالطَّائِفِ  
فَتَرْمِدَ بِهَا قَهْرَتًا وَتَعْلَمَ لَنَا مِنْ أَهْلَانَا .

(He (the Prophet) wrote something on a piece of paper for 'Abd Allāh b. Jahsh and ordered him not to look into it until he completes two days' (journey); then

he should look into it. (He also ordered him) not to despise anyone of his companions as he was their commander. So 'Abd Allāh b. Jahsh did what the Prophet had ordered him to do. When he opened the letter and read he found in it the following message: "When you look into this letter of mine, proceed till you reach an oasis between Makkah and al-Tā'if. Then<sup>1</sup> watched the Quraysh there and inform us about them).

The following extract refers to a miracle of the Prophet:

ثم نزل على الله عليه وسلم هناك فقبل : يا رسول الله ليس  
بهذا الوادي ماء فاحرج عليه السلام سعياً من مكانه فاصطاد  
رجلاً من استعابه فنزل عن قلب من تلك القلب فغمره في  
جوفه فجاء الماء البراء حتى كفى جميع اهل الجيش .

(Then he, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, alighted there and was told: Oh the Messenger of Allāh! there is no water in this valley. He took out an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his companions. He descended into one of the old wells and pierced the arrow in its bottom and lo! fresh water rushed out till it sufficed the whole<sup>2</sup> army).

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1. Ibid. # 107-8.

2. Ibid. : 203.

This work has been published in Cairo in 1366 A.D.

al-Intiqā' fī Paqā'il al-Thalāthah al-A'imma al-Fuqahā' Mālik  
u-shāfi'ī wa-abū Hanīfah by Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Jarr  
al-Nasafī, the author of the ~~xxx~~ previous two works.

As is evident from the title of the book, it is a collection of the biographies of the three great Paqīhs of Islām, Imām Mālik, Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Abū Hanīfah. Equal space has been allotted to each biography and the work covers 175 pages. In the beginning the author has written a general introduction in about two pages and in about one page each he has written special introductions to the biographies of Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Abū Hanīfah. In the general introduction Ibn 'Abd al-Jarr has written that he undertook this work on the insistence of a large number of learned people of his time to compile a book about the three great jurists of Islām whose fame had spread to all the parts of the world.

He has generally discussed under separate chapters the place and date of the birth of his subject and his genealogy, his education, the comments, both favourable and unfavourable, of various scholars on him, his noble qualities, his relation with the ruler of his time, the date of his death and finally the biographies of his famous students.

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1. Ibn 'Abd al-Jarr : al-Intiqā' fī Paqā'il al-Thalāthah 8-9  
(Cairo, 1360 A.H.).

As the book deals with three well known personalities of Islām most of the information provided in it is common knowledge and needs no repetition. But the part where he has written the biographies of the pupils of these jurists contains new information. In all he has written the biographies of 20 students of Imām Mālik, 23 students of Imām Shāfi'ī and three students of Imām Abū Hanīfah. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has taken special pains to give their dates of death. But he has given the date of birth only in very few cases. In rare cases he has not been able to mention either of them.

As is the case with other Spanish historians, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has also included verses in his work. The number of these verses is 149 in all.

The author has quoted many wise sayings in this work. The following words of Shāfi'ī may be cited as an example:

ما رأيت قط غللاً سميناً إلا واحداً وهو محمد بن الحسن قهبل  
 قد روى قال لا إله الا الله لا نعبد الا الله وحده لا شريك له  
 ومحمد أوليهم نبيا ومحمد وصيهم وبعثهم مع الله لا ينقض

(I never saw a fat man who was intelligent except one whose name is Muhammad b. al-Hasan. He was asked why it is so. He replied: the intelligent man will always possess one of the two habits: either he will be worried of the hereafter and resurrection or he will be worried of this world and his livelihood and

fatness cannot combine with worries).<sup>1</sup>

Like his other works in this work also the author has followed the path of the traditionalists while transmitting information. An information is always preceded by a long chain of reporters. Often the chain of reporters occupies more space than the information itself. Again, after the fashion of the traditions, the same information has been repeated either with slight change in the wordings of the text or with some change in the chain of reporters.

We may say that as a historian there is one defect in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, i.e. on certain points he has simply given opinions of different people but has failed to draw his own conclusion. For example, he has reported three possible years of the birth of Imām Mālik, i.e. 93, 94 and 97 A.H. but has not opined which of them he considers to be more probable.

On the other hand, one of his greatest merits as a historian is his impartiality which is evident from the fact that, as has already been mentioned, he has presented both the favourable and adverse view points regarding his ~~many~~ heroes. Abū Hanīfah is one of them whom he has not spared.

This work has been published in Cairo in 1360 A.H.

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1. Ibid. : 98.

The following works which fall in the same category are not extant:

Akhhār al-ʿuqāt w-al-Fuqahāʾ bi-ḥuṣṣatihā by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad

b. ʿAḥīr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥaryūl b. Jarrāb b. Ḥatīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Umawī, Abū ʿUmar, a native of Cordova. He began his education in 359 A.H. He was a very pious man and was nominated for ʿAqī al-mathāʾiq in Cordova by Muḥammad al-Mahdī. Then he went from there to al-Miryah and knowing the noble qualities in his Khayrān al-ʿAqlānī, the ruler of al-Miryah, appointed him as qāḍī of Lorca. He stayed there till his death on 16th Baḥāʾ al-Thānī, 420 A.H. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl the work under discussion is a short one from which Ibn Bashkuwāl has derived information for his al-ʿIlāh. Another work of the author is ʿAḥb al-Muʿallimīn, in five parts.<sup>1</sup>

Akhhār Shuʿarāʾ al-Andalus by ʿUbāidah b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, Abū Bakr, known as Ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ, one of the leading poets of the ʿAmirid dynasty. He died in Málaga in 422/1030. No information is available about this work except its name.

Kitāb al-Iptilāf fī Tārīkh al-ʿIlm al-Rajāʾ fī Akhhār al-Khulafāʾ w-al-ʿuqāt w-al-Fuqahāʾ ; by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥarrir b.

1. Ibn Bashkuwāl: al-ʿIlāh : 40-42.

2. Al-Ḥumaydī : Jaḥwāt al-Muṣṭabih : 293; al-Zirkilī : al-ʿIlm 4 : 30.

Ḥamdād b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maʿfarī, Abū Bakr, known by the name al-Qubbashī, a native of Cordova. He was a traditionist. He started writing the work under discussion at Murcia in Isharran, 417 A.H. and completed it in Isharran, 420 A.H. Al-Qubbashī was born in 348/959 and died in 432/1040. Ibn Baḥkūnāl has derived some information for his al-Ḥilah from this work.<sup>1</sup>

Kitāb al-Khbar al-ʿArabī: by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071), the author of 'al-Istīʿāb'. Al-Qabbāḥī in his Bughyat al-Multanis has said that this work was written in seven volumes.<sup>2</sup>

Tadhkirah al-Ḥumaydī: by al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095),<sup>3</sup> the author of Jaghwat al-Muqtabis. Al-Zirkillī has given the name of this work simply as "Tadhkirah".<sup>4</sup> No more information is available about this work.

Kitāb Tārīkh Fuḡahāʾ Tulayṭulah wa-qurātuhā: by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muṭṭahir al-Anṣarī, Abū Jaʿfar, a native of Toledo. He died in Toledo in 489/1096. Ibn Baḥkūnāl has derived some information from this work for his al-Ḥilah.<sup>5</sup> No more information is available about it.

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1. Ibn Baḥkūnāl : al-Ḥilah: 137-8; al-Zirkillī: al-Aʿlām 2:231, Ismāʿīl Bāghā : Muḥyat al-ʿArifīn 1:276.
  2. Al-Qabbāḥī : Bughyat al-Multanis : 475.
  3. Ḥājī Khalīfeh : Kashf al-ḡunūn 2:393.
  4. Al-Zirkillī : al-Aʿlām 7 : 319.
  5. Ibn Baḥkūnāl : al-Ḥilah : 72-73; al-Zirkillī: al-Aʿlām 1:142.

## CHAPTER V

### DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY IN SPAIN DURING THE TWELTH A.D.

During the twelfth century so much progress was not made in history writing as was made during the previous century though in the field of biography considerable contribution was made. A special feature of this century was the use of rhymed prose by Ibn Khāqān and Ibn Bassām for writing biographical works. The historical works written during this period may be divided mainly in to three categories: History of Spain; General History and Biography.

#### History of Spain:

In this field only one title is traced out and that too is not extant.

Tā rīk al-Dawlah al-Lastūniyyah or Anwār-al-Jāhiliyyah fi-  
Akbbār al-Dawlah al-Muslīmīyyah : by Yahyā b. Muḥammad b.

Yūsuf al-Anṣārī, Abū Bakr, Ibn al-Sayrafī, an Andalusian poet and historian. Ibn al-Sayrafī was born at Granada in 467/1074. He had a profound knowledge of Arabic language and literature and was a great poet, particularly of Muḥabbahāt. He was the Kātib of Aḥīr Abū Muḥammad Tāshifīn of Granada. His fame rests mainly on the work under consideration which, as its title indicates, is a history of the Almoravid dynasty. At first he ended this work in 530/1135-6 and then further



extended it to the period shortly before his death in 557/1179. This work has been lost but some extracts from it have been quoted by later historians like Ibn 'Idharī and Ibn al-Khatīb.<sup>1</sup>

### General History:

In this field we get only two titles and only one of them is extant.

Sharp Qasidah Ibn 'Abdūn: By 'Abd'ul Qāsim 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allāh al-Badrānī, better known as Ibn Badrūn, a Spanish man of letters. Ibn Badrūn originally belonged to the city of Silves<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Abdūn, the author of the qasidah, died in Evora in 589/1194.<sup>3</sup> As far as the date of the death of Ibn Badrūn is concerned, al-Zirkilī says that he died after the year 608/1211.<sup>4</sup> But no one else of his biographers has given the date of his birth or death. In the introduction of this work the author himself has written that one day Amīr-al-Mu'minīn

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1. Ibn al-Abbār : Takmilah al-Salāh: 733 (Madrid, 1887); al-Maqqasī: Haff al-Ṭib 2:122 (Leyden, 1858-61); al-Zirkilī: al-Mawā'id A'lām 9:208; Encyclopedia of Islam 3:932.
  2. Al-Bustānī: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif 2:360; al-Zirkilī: al-A'lām 4:306.
  3. Najī Khalifa: Kashf al-Ḥunūn: 1329; al-Bustānī: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif 2 : 360.
  4. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 4 : 306.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ra'mān b. 'Alī (1094-1163 A.D.) invited him along with other literary men to listen to the ode composed by Ibn 'Abdūn. Then on the request of the people gathered there, he wrote its *ḥarb* but even he has not mentioned the date when this incident took place. It is a significant fact that a distinguished gathering of men of letters chose him out of all those present there to undertake this task. As Ibn 'Abdūn flourished in 12th century A.D., it is quite evident that Ibn Badrūn was also living during this period.

About this *qaṣīdah* it is said that Ibn 'Abdūn became famous by his historical *rā'iyyah* in which he has lamented over (the fall of) <sup>1</sup>Afṣāsids. He has begun with general observations and continued to cite the famous dynasties whom the vicissitudes of history effaced from the surface of the earth from the most ancient Persian kingdom upto the caliphate of the 'Abbasid al-Muqtadir (332/944). Then he has mentioned the Banu'l Afṣas who were also known as Banu'l Muṣaffar or Banū Maslamah. The *qaṣīdah* is known as 'al-Basṣamah'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Afṣāsids (Banu'l Afṣas), a small Hispano Muslim dynasty of the 5th/11th century, reigned during the period of the *ḥukm al-taṣā'if* of al-Andalus over a vast territory in the western part of the Iberian Peninsula, with Badajoz (Batal-gawa) as its capitals: Encyclopaedia of Islām 1:242.
  2. Al-Bustanī : *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif* 2 : 350.

This qasidah is in 67 verses. Here we are concerned only with the historical commentary on it by Ibn Badrūn.

In this work Ibn Badrūn has collected such anecdotes from world history which teach some lesson.

The text of the work (including the four introductory pages) covers 307 pages. After the introduction the author has quoted all the verses of the qasidah and has written commentary on them one by one. However he has not written commentary on the first nine and the last 25 verses. It means that he has written commentary only on 33 verses. The first nine verses reflect the general observations of the poet about the vicissitudes of fate and the last 25 are an elegy on the Afāsids. As mentioned above, Ibn Badrūn has quoted these verses without commenting on them.

In each verse on which the author has written commentary the poet has pointed out the tragic end of one or more ancient historical personalities. While doing so, he has mentioned the surnames of great kings or rulers, ministers, warriors and leaders etc. Ibn Badrūn has picked up each of these names and has discussed extensively his life and activities. Using these personalities as a pivot he has painted vivid pictures of ancient kingdoms such as Persia, Greece and Rome. He has gone deep into the past history of Arabian tribes such as 'Ad, Thamūd and Tasm.

later he has dealt with the Islamic period elaborately and covered the history of this period upto the time of the 'Abbāsid caliphs al-Mu'tamid and al-Huqtadir.

In this way we have been introduced to the various political, social, religious and cultural activities which took place during all these different periods of the growth of human civilisation.

This work indicates that Ibn Badrūn had studied world history very minutely and accurately.

The author has begun the work with the history of the Persian King Darius who was killed by the order of Alexander the great. He has traced the history of Persia (Irān) in detail giving the names of all the kings who ruled there along with the number of the years for which they ruled till the country was conquered by the Arabs. He is of the opinion that the first person to become a king on earth was a Persian. In this connection he has emphasised the necessity of the institution of kingdom.

While giving a detailed account of Darius, the author has found occasion to describe the many expeditions of Alexander. During his description of Alexander's Indian expedition he has quoted in length the words of an Indian philosopher regarding the sciences which had developed in India at that time.

As has already been mentioned, the author has traced the history of Greece and Rome in some detail. After Greece and Rome the author has dealt elaborately with the history of ancient Arabia and its suburbs.

The following quotations may serve as examples of the different types of information which the author has included in his work:

ثم ملك بعده علي ما ذكر صاحب كتاب المعارف ابنه ابرهة ويقال له  
ذوالنطار ..... وكان ملكه مائة وثلاثا وستين سنة وذكر المسعودي  
ان الذي ملك بعده الرازي موحبان بن غالب بن زيد بن كهلان  
فكان ملكه مائة وعشرين سنة ثم ملك بعده الحرث بن مالك ابن  
البراء بن يشجب بن سبا فكان ملكه مائة واربعين سنة .

(Then after him (al-Rā'ish) as the author of the Kitāb al-Ma'ārif says, his son Abraham became the king. He was known as Dhū al-Manār.....he ruled for 123 years. Al-Mas'ūdī has said that the person who attained power after al-Rā'ish was Hayyān b. Ghālib b. Sayd b. Kahlān and his reign lasted for 120 years. Then after him al-Harith b. Malik b. Ifrīqas b. Sayfī b. Yaghjāb b. Sabā<sup>1</sup> became the king and his rule lasted for 140 years.)

From this quotation we come to know the duration of the reign of three ancient kings of Yemen. The first one ruled for 123 years

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1. Ibn Badrūn : Sharah Qasidah Ibn 'Abdūn : 78.

and the next two for 120 and 140 years respectively. If this statement of the author is correct we realise that the life span of the people of those days was much longer than what it is today.

(واللهي موالذي بنا افرقية وبه سميت افرقية)

(Ifriqas was the person who founded Africa and it was named after him).<sup>1</sup>

ثم طك بعده شعراين اللهيس بن ابرهة ويسي شعير  
وذلك لارتعاشه كان به وحرج نحو العراق ثم توجه يريد الصين  
ودخل مدينة الهند وهدمها فسميت شمركان اي شعريها و  
سميت بعد قليل سمرقند .

(Then after him Shamir b. Ifriqas b. Abraham became the king and was called Shamir Yar'ash because he suffered from shivering. He proceeded towards al-'Irāq; then turned from there intending to enter China but entered the city of al-Baghd and destroyed it. So it was named Shamerkan, that is Shamir destroyed it. Later it was Arabised and called Samarqand).<sup>2</sup>

From the above two quotations we understand the historical reasons why Ifriqiyan and Samarqand were named so.

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1. Ibid. : 78.

2. Ibid. : 79-80.

وكانت ارضهم طرب من بلاد اليمن وكانت الصطارة فيها أزيد من  
مسيرة شهرين للراكب المجتهد كانوا يقتسمون النار بعضهم من  
بعض مسيرة ستة أشهر وكانت المرأة اذا ارادت ان تجتلي من  
نهرها شيئاً وضعت مكطعها على راسها وخرجت تمشي تحت الثمار  
وهي تنزل او تصعد ماشاءت فلا ترفع حتى يمتلئ مكطعها ماشاءت  
من الثمر الذي ينساقط عليها .

(Their land was an object of desire in al-Yaman. The distance between the inhabitations there was of more than two month's journey for a skilled horseman. They used to kindle fire from one another after crossing a distance of six month's journey. If a woman intended to pluck some fruits she put a large basket on her head and walked under them singing love songs or doing what she liked; she did not return until she filled her basket with whatever fruits she liked out of those fresh fruit which fell (from the trees.)<sup>1</sup>

In this quotation we observe some aspects of the social life of the people of ancient Yamen.

وذكر ان طرباً ربه لم يتم الليلة التي قتل في مبيعتها وانه لم يزل  
يمشي بين باب المسجد والحجرة ويقول والله ما كذبت ولا كذبت وانما  
الليلة التي وعدت ولما خرج من داره من بيت كان للحيات لسان  
يحيى يمشي من في الدار فقال طي ربه صحك دمعين فابعد نواحي

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1. Ibid. : 97-8.

(It was told that 'Alī, may Allāh be pleased with him, did not sleep in the night preceding the day on which he was murdered, he remained walking between the door of the mosque and the room (in it). He was saying (all the while), Oh Allāh I have not told a lie nor I have been belied and it is the night of which I was promised. When he came out of his house the ducks which belonged to the children started shrieking and somebody inside the house shouted with them. So 'Alī, may Allāh be pleased with him, said, "curse be on you, leave them, they are mourning").

This quotation indicates that 'Alī had some sort of premonition about his assassination.

وكان اردشير من اهل الصفوة والسفوة وله اشياء رتبها الله بها  
بعدد المتأخرين من الطوبى الاكابر وكان قد رتب أصحابه على ثلاث  
طبقات الطبقة الاولى على نحو من عشرة أذرع مجلسهم من مجلسه  
وهم بطانة الملك وادماؤه وحدثوه والطبقة الثانية على عشرة أذرع  
من هؤلاء وهم وجوه الموازية وطوبى الكبر والطبقة الثالثة على مقدار  
عشرة أذرع من الثانية .

(Ardashir was an intelligent and learned man. He had arranged certain things in such a manner that they were imitated by the later great kings who followed him. He had arranged his associates in to three

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1. Ibid. : 161.



categories; the people belonging to the first category sat at a distance of about ten forearms from his seat; they were the entourage of the king, his boon companions and his spokesmen. Those of the second category sat at a distance of ten forearms from these people; they were important governors and kings of small towns and those of the third category sat at a distance of ten forearms from the people who were included in the <sup>1</sup>second category).

From this quotation we learn of the seating arrangement of the noble men in the court of this Persian king, Ardashir.

In the following quotation the author has expressed the opinion that throne is not a bed of roses; violent death always remains hidden behind it:

قال الصولي قال عبد الملك بن عيسى كنت مع عبد الملك بن مروان  
بمصر الكوفة حين جئني اليه برأس مصعب فوضع بين يديه فرائي  
قد لقصت فقال لي مالك فقلت أهدك بالله يا أمير المؤمنين كنت  
بهذا القصر بهذا الموضع مع عبد الله بن زياد فرائت رأس الحسين  
بن علي بين يديه في هذا المكان ثم كنت فيه مع المختار فرائت  
رأس عبد الله بن زياد بين يديه ثم كنت فيه مع المصعب فرائت  
رأس المختار بين يديه ثم رائت رأس المصعب فيه بين يديك فلهذا  
بالله يا أمير المؤمنين

(Al-qulī said that 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr has said

that I was with 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in the castle

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1. Ibid. : 26.

of Kūfah when the head of Muḡab was brought and put in front of him. He saw me trembling and asked, "what has happened to you?" I replied, "Oh the commander of the faithful! I seek for you protection from Allāh. I was in this castle at this place with 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād and saw the head of al-Husayn b. 'Alī in front of him at this place; then I was here with al-Muḡhtār and saw the head of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād in front of him; then I was here with al-Muḡ'ab and saw the head of al-Muḡhtār in front of him; then I saw the head of al-Mus'ab here in front of you; so I seek (for you) protection from Allāh oh commander of the faithful.)<sup>1</sup>

The author has quoted many incidents in his work which prove the old saying that kingship knows no kingship, even if it is in Islām. He has mentioned that al-Ha'mūn was the first one in Islām to kill his brother for the sake of throne. Then his example was followed by many others.<sup>2</sup>

The historical events which the author has collected in this work are not unknown but his love for the prophet and Islām is evident from his style of narration. At the same time his sorrow over the unfortunate incidents which took place

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1. Ibid. : 190-91.

2. Ibid. : 237.

in Islamic lands after the Prophet's death knew no bounds. He was well aware of the fact that after the first four Caliphs the control of these lands was transferred to the hands of mere power seekers.

There are many persons who faced a violent death during the checked history of Islām. Among such persons the names of the following are found in this work: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Zubayr b. 'Awwām, 'Ammār b. Kābir, 'Amr b. al-'Ās, Ḥabbāk b. Qays, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Aghdaq, al-Ḥallid b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, Harwān b. al-Ḥakam, al-Aḥn, Ja'far al-Mu'tasim, al-Mutawakkil and Yahya, Ja'far and al-Paḍl the Barmakids.

The author has first described the good days which these people saw in their lives and then the ill fate which they finally met. This has added to the attraction of the narration.

While describing the fall of the Barmakids, he says that one of its reasons was the amorous relation of Ja'far b. Yahyā with 'Abbāsah, the sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd. As a result of this relation she gave birth to a child who was brought up at Makkah. When Zubaydah, the wife of the Caliph, brought this matter to his notice, he got it investigated and found it to be true. It turned him against the Barmakids. The author has

described the heydays of the Umayyads and then their ill fate in great length.

The author has described all types of extravagances and evil customs forbidden by Islām but prevalent in the courts of a large number of the Umayyad and Abbāsid rulers. For example, a scene from the court life of al-Amīn, the 'Abbāsid Caliph, has been painted as follows:

فَنَزَلْتُ مَعَهُ فَأَمَرَ بِالشَّرَابِ فَوَضَعَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِمَا فَشَرِبَ رَطْلًا وَحَقْنًا  
ثُمَّ لَمَسْنِي فَقَالَ لِي خُذِي مِنْ يَسَرِّ طَبَقِكَ مَا اسْتَفْنِي مِنْ ذَلِكَ  
فَدَمَا بِمَجَارِيهِ اسْمَا نَعَفَ فَتَطَبَّرْتُ مِنْ اسْمَا فَلَمَّا جَاءَتْ قَالَ لَهَا  
فَتَيْنَا نَعَفْتُ بِشَمْرِ النَّهْضَةِ .

(So I came down with him (al-Amīn) and he ordered for wine which was kept in front of us; he drank one rāṭl and gave me to drink the same quantity and then I sang. He asked me would you like one who may sing for you in such a manner that you may not need to sing yourself. Then he called a slave girl whose name was Ḍa'f. I drew an evil omen from her name, when she came, he asked her to sing for us and she sang the verses of al-Nāḥighah).<sup>1</sup>

This work ends with the history of al-Mu'tamid and al-Muqtadir. According to the author, before their reign the

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1. Ibid. : 231.

Turks had started playing a major role in the 'Abbāsid kingdom.

Besides the main ode the author has collected 489 verses by different poets while explaining various historical incidents.

As to the best of my knowledge it is the first extant historical work produced in Muslim Spain which contains so much information about the political history of the world.

The author has collected material for his work faithfully from various reliable sources. Generally he refrains from expressing his own views but by reproducing quotations lets the characters themselves talk. This makes the style more attractive and by inserting information in the form of stories the author has made the historical account more interesting.

At the same time one of the demerits of the work seems to be that the author has not quoted the sources of his information regarding some incidents, especially those connected with the pre-Islamic period. This decreases its historical value. But in comparison to its merits it may be considered to be a minor defect.

After going through the work one comes to the conclusion that the basic philosophy of the author is that the main aim of man in life has been to satiate his own lust. As an example the following incident may be cited: When 'Aar was killed by

'Abd al-Malik in his castle his four thousand permanent attendants were waiting outside the castle and were getting ready to take revenge. When Qubayṣah b. Abī Dhuwayb, one of the associates of 'Abd al-Malik, saw this he told him, oh the commander of the faithful! throw the head of 'Amr towards them and scatter (some) dinārs on them. They will engage themselves in picking them and will disperse. He did so and the followers of 'Amr dispersed from the gate and the blood of 'Amr was shed and no one sought its revenge.<sup>1</sup>

This work has been published by R.P.A.Dory in Leiden in 1946.

The following work too falls in the category of general history but it is not extant:

Kitāb al-Maghānī by Ibn Hubayrah, Abū'l Qāsim 'Abd al-Faḥrān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Abī 'Isa al-Anṣarī al-Murāī. Ibn Hubayrah was born in al-Miryah of a family originally from Shāriqah, Valencia, in 504/1110. He studied there al-Qir'at and Fiqh under Abū'l Qāsim Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Faḥrān al-Qaṣabī, Abū'l Aḥbāḥ b. Yasa', Abū'l Qāsim b. Ward, Abū'l Ḥasan b. Nāfi' and others. He studied Arabic language and literature under Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Zayd. In the year 530/1135 he went to Cordova and there he studied under Abū'l Ḥasan b. Muḥāṭh,

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1. Ibid. : 205.

Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Makki, Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Aḡbagh, Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Ḥisāl and others. He stayed there for three years and then went to his native place where he continued to stay until it was conquered by the Christians in 342/1147. Then he went to Murcia and from there he reached Jazīrah al-Ḥaq where he stayed for about 12 years. In about 356/1161 he went to Murcia as Khatīb in the principal mosque. Then he became qāḍī of Murcia in 376/1179-80 and held this post till his death in 394/1183.

The complete name of the work under study is Kitāb (Abī) al-Ḥasawāt al-Damīnah al-Kāfilah wa'l-Futūḥ al-Jamī'ah al-Hāfilah al-Kā'inah fī Ayyām al-Ḥulafā' al-Ḥisāl al-Thalāthah. It is an account of the victorious expeditions in the first half of the 7th century A.D., for the most parts under the Caliphs Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Ibn Ḥubayyāh received a commission for the book from the Alshade Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf in 376/1179-80. The work survives in manuscript form. For writing this work Ibn Ḥubayyāh has made use of the Kitāb al-Riddah of al-Ḥāqī.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Abbār : al-Takmilah li-kitāb al-ḡilah : 373-75; al-al-pabī; Dughyat al-Multamī : 345-46 (No. 988); al-Zirkilī : Al-a'lām 4:104; Brockelmann SI : 337.
  2. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 803.

Ibn Hubayyah appears to have planned a continuation of the Kitāb al-Ḥilāh of Ibn Baḥḥusāl which was never carried out. But his notes and material were made use of by Ibn al-Abbār for his al-Takmilah li-Kitāb al-Ḥilāh.<sup>1</sup>

### Biography:

In this category mainly biographical dictionaries and individual biographies are included. Out of the 21 titles which have been referred to in various books only six are extant and out of these six only five have been published. The remaining one, Kitāb al-Shaʿā'id wa'l-Mubḥasat min al-Aḥḥād is in manuscript form. Three of the published works, i.e. Qalā'id al-'Iyān, Maṭnab al-Anfus and al-Mubḥasat, are written in rhymed prose. The remaining two works, i.e. Kitāb al-Ḥilāh and Baḥyat al-Multasib, are arranged alphabetically. The names of the works which are not extant are as follows:

- (1) Kitāb 'Uḥm al-Imānah wa-Nawādir al-Siyānah.
- (2) Al-Tadhīl (3) Akhbār al-'Uṭubayn (4) Sīat al-Jann wa Saqit al-Marjān (5) Hikāyat al-Mustaghribah (6) Dhikr man Ismā al-Muwatta' 'an Ḥālik (7) Akhbār al-A'mash (8) Tarjuman Nasā'i (9) Akhbār al-Muḥāsibī (10) Akhbār Ismā'il al-Qāḍī (11) Akhbār Ibn Wahab (12) Akhbār Abī'l Muṭraf al-Qanānī (13) Qudatū

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1. Ibn al-Abbār : al-Takmilah li-Kitāb al-Ḥilāh : 573-75.



Murtubah (14) Akhbār Ibn al-Mubārak and (15) Akhbār Ibn 'Uyaynah.

Qalā'id al-'Iḡān fī Maḥāsīn al-A'yān by Al-Faḥḥ b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Khāqān, Abū Naḡr al-Qaysī al-Ishbīlī. Ibn Khāqān was born about the year 480 (1087). Ibn al-Abbār says about him in al-Mu'jam that he studied under Abū 'Alī who taught him Adab al-Subbah by al-Sulamī word by word and under Abū Muḥammad al-Daḥlūmī one of his compositions, Kitāb al-Intisār, in the year 516.<sup>2</sup> As a youth he was a vagabond and a hard drinker. Having succeeded in attracting the attention of Yāshīn b. 'Alī, prince of Granada, he obtained the post of secretary. But he did not retain it for long.<sup>3</sup> He was of loose moral character.<sup>4</sup> Ahmad Amīn has described Ibn Khāqān in these words: He was a poor man and poverty is not a disgrace but he was a mean person also addicted to drinking and spent money lavishly on other people. He visited different places and sang the praises of people like himself who gave him wine to drink and he sought to establish relations with these people. The worst thing in him was that he praised or blamed people simply

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1. Al-Bustānī : Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif 2 : 437-38; al-Sirkī al-A'lām 5 : 332.

2. Ibn al-Abbār : Al-Mu'jam fī Aḥbāb Abī 'Alī al-Sadāqī, 300-31.

3. Encyclopaedia of Islām 2 : 838.

4. Al-Bustānī : Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif 2 : 437.

for giving him gifts or refusing them. If they gave him gifts he praised them; otherwise he blamed them. Often he praised or blamed a person according to his personal relationship with him.<sup>1</sup>

Other works of Ibn Khāqān are *Hotāsh al-anfus wa Masrah al-Ta'annus fī Mulah Abi al-andalus*; *Ḥayāt al-Muḥāsīn wa Ghāyat al-Muḥāsīn*; a biography of one of the author's teachers, al-Baṭṭayṣī<sup>2</sup> and a collection of his letters.

Ibn Khāqān was assassinated at the instigation of Abu'l Hasan 'Alī, the brother of (the Almoravid ruler) Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn to whom he has dedicated his *alā'id al-'Iqyān*,<sup>3</sup> in a funduq (hotel) in Marrakush at a date which in various sources varies between 528/1134 and 535/1160, the year 529/1134 being the most probable.<sup>4</sup>

About this work it has been written in the *Iṣḥād al-'Arīb*<sup>5</sup> when Ibn Khāqān decided to compile his book *alā'id al-'Iqyān*

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1. Aḥmad Azīn : *Ṣubḥ al-Iṣḥād* 3 : 282-3.
  2. Ibn al-Abbār : *al-Mu'jam* 300-301; al-Sirkilī : *al-A'lām* 5:332.
  3. Al-Bustānī : *Dī'irat al-Ma'ārif* 2 : 437.
  4. Ibn al-Abbār : *al-Mu'jam* : 300-301; Yāqūt : *Iṣḥād al-'Arīb* 16:187; Ibn Khallikān : *Wafayāt al-A'yān* 3:194.
  5. Yāqūt : *Iṣḥād al-'Arīb* 16 : 186-92.

he wrote to all the kings of Spain, the ministers and prominent literateurs and poets informing them of his decision and asking them to send him some of their poem and prose writings to be included in his book. These people were aware of his evil nature and therefore afraid of him. So they sent him what he had asked along with gifts. Those who satisfied him were made the subject of panegyrics while others were criticised or blamed.

Maḥ'id al-'Iqān is the first work of Ibn Khāqān. It is a biographical dictionary of the Spanish people. Along with the biographies of the men who distinguished themselves in various fields, it contains references to the social, political, cultural and in certain cases even to the economic conditions of Spain during the period it covers.

The work under study has 304 pages. In the first three pages an index and in the fourth page a short biography of the author has been given by the editor. Then the text by the author begins. It contains an introduction and four parts. The introduction covers three pages. The four parts are of unequal length. In the first part there are six biographies of princes. In the second part he has included the biographies of 27 vizirs. In the third part there are the biographies of ten qādis and jurists. In the fourth and the last part there are sixteen biographies of poets and men of letters. In total there are 59 biographies. In this work Ibn Khāqān has not included any women.

The work contains 4102 verses by different poets. Nearly all the biographies are full of verses concerning such varied subjects as panegyrics, satire, war songs, Love songs, Poetry of nature, elegies and historical songs which were in vogue in Spain at that time. These poems throw light not only on the society of Spain but very often we are given an opportunity to enjoy the natural beauty of the country through them as is the case with the following verses:

- |                                  |                           |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| • ولقد شربنا الخمر حين سطع نورها | • والليل قد بث الظلام ردا |
| • حتى تهدى البدر في جوزانه       | • ملكا تنامي بهجة وسعا    |
| • لما أراد تنزها في عربه         | • جعل المظلة فوقه الجوزا  |
| • وتناحست زمر النجوم بحفه        | • لألأوما فاستكمل الألا   |
| • ونور الكواكب كالنواكب حوله     | • رفعت نراها عليه لسوا    |
| • وحكى في الأرض بين نواكب        | • وكواكب جعلت لنا وسوا    |

I drank sparkling wine when night spread (its) cloak  
of darkness.

And the full moon appeared in its constellation as a king  
who attained joy and brilliance.

When it intended to move towards the west the constellation  
made themselves a parasol above it.

The flower of stars rose surrounding it (with) their gleams  
and the blessings became complete.

You could see the stars as a procession around it (and)  
their plects rose on it as a standard (banner).

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1. Ibn Khāqān : qalā'id al-'Iqyān : 6.

It resembled a procession on the earth full of brilliance and sublimity.

Here the poet has given a vivid picture of the sky, moon, and stars. The words **ولقد شربت الرا** (I drank wine) with which the first verse starts, indicate that the use of intoxicants was prevalent in Spain at that time.

<sup>1</sup>  
In the following verses:

**نحن في المظفر الذي يحب الرا • حنة والسبع والمنا والمنا**

we are in the gathering which provides us comfort, good stories, melody and wealth.

the word the gathering ( **المظفر** ) is used. This word is repeated in a good number of verses. It obviously refers to the poetic gatherings of those days.

<sup>2</sup>  
In the following three beautiful verses we come across a few varieties of flowers:

**فم يا ديم ادر على القرقا • اذ ما ترى زهر الياس خفا  
فخال محبا دلا ودها • وتظن ترجسا محبا دفا  
والطنار دما • قتل مصركا • والياسمين حباب ما • قد ظنا**

Oh boon companion, get up and take note of the wine  
Are you not seeing the flowers of the garden (just like a)  
white striped garment.

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1. Ibid. : 7.

2. Ibid. : 99.

You will imagine its rose to be an arrogant beloved  
and the narcissus an emaciated lover;

The pomegranate blossom to be the blood of the one  
killed in the battlefield and the jasmine an extin-  
guished bubble of water.

<sup>1</sup>  
The following verses are from the part of a conversation  
between two brothers and the last hemistich throws light on  
their religious belief:

يا اخي قم ترالنسيم طيلا • باكرالروى والدام شويلا  
في رايه تصاق الزمرد بها • طبا طاق الخليل طيلا  
لا تم واقتم سره بم • ان سمعت التراب يوما طيلا

Oh my brother, get up (and) see early in the morning  
the gentle breeze blowing in the garden and the north  
wind continuing to blow.

In the garden the flowers embrace each other just like  
the embrace of a sincere friend with another.

Do not sleep, but avail yourself the joy of the days  
verily there is a long sleep under the earth.

Love songs are much fascinating. Here are a few specimen  
of them along with the context given by the author:<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid. : 150.

2. Ibid.

قال خرجت من اشبيلية وفي النفس غرام طويته بين ضلوي و  
كككت فيه غرب دمي • بفناء من الشمس او كالشمس احالما •  
بحول قلبها ولا حلالها • وقد قلت في يوم وداعها • علة غطر  
كدي وانداعها :

ولما القينا للوداع حدة • وقد حطقت في صاحة الصررايات  
يكنا دما كان عهدنا • بحرى دموع الحمر منعا جراحات  
وقد زلقتى هذه الليلة في صمى • وابرائق من توجسى ومكتلى  
من ربابها وتنتنى بدلا لما وخبابها • فقلت :

لما لطفني حينها الحد والنعدا • نصى به طاعة واجتنى ودا  
ولو قدرت زارت على حال يقظة • ولكن حجاب الين ما بيننا دما

(He said I started from Ishbīliyah in such a condition  
that I had infatuation in my soul (which) I had concealed  
in my heart and I held back my tears. (My infatuation  
was) for a young woman who was the sun or I thought her  
to be like the sun. Neither her heart nor her anklet  
will change. And I said with a broken heart on the day  
I bid her farewell:

When we met at the river bank for farewell and the  
flags were fluttering in the courtyard of the palace.

We wept (shedding) blood (instead of tears) and our  
eyes became like wounds due to the flow of ~~many~~ red  
tears from them.

She visited me that night in my bed; got me rid of my  
pain and furnished me her saliva and tempted me with her  
coquetry and colour. So I said:

(with her) cheek and bosom her phantom appeared in my vision; and it grabed an apple with teeth and plucked a rose.

If she could, she would have visited (me) while (I was) awake; but the curtain of separation was hanging between us).

The historical poems are of much importance because they are very informative. For instance, from page 38 onwards we get a *rā'iyyah* composed by Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abdūn (d. 1134 A.D.) after the fall of the Aftasids. This poem has already been discussed elaborately in this thesis while dealing with the *gharab qasidah* Ibn 'Abdūn.

The author himself has also provided abundant information about the political, social, religious and economic conditions of Spain of the period in the text of the book.

However, the work is not important only from historical point of view but also from literary point of view. The author has generally used rhymed prose in it and has written short sentences. While going through the book, sometimes we feel that the author has adopted the Qur'ānic style. It is usually flowery and mostly very attractive.

While narrating the change of fortune of Muḥammad b. 'Abbād from good to bad Ibn Khāqān has described the latter



condition in these words:<sup>1</sup>

واسحت منازلهم قد بان عننا الان والجهنم والنوت بمحنتها الصبا والديور  
فبكت الميمون عليه دما . وقد موجد الحياة دما . صار حرار  
الدمر له دما .

(From the sight of his houses it became clear that familiarity and joy had disappeared from them and the east wind and the west wind had destroyed their magnificence. So the eyes shed tears of blood on him. The existence of life changed into non-existence and the lifelong freedom turned into slavery).

The author has used the Qur'anic terms like <sup>2</sup> **البر والظفر** etc. throughout the whole text. This shows that Ibn Khāqān must have been wellversed in and greatly influenced by the Qur'an.

The author has described natural beauty in a most attractive style at so many places in this work. For example at one place he has written:<sup>4</sup>

واخبرني ذر والدولة ان استضاء في ليلة قد البها البدر ردام  
واقد فيها اسوام . وهو على الشجرة الكبرى . والنجم قد انما كنت  
فيها تخالعا زمرا .

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1. Ibid. : 6.

2. Ibid. : 127.

3. Ibid. : 204.

4. Ibid. : 9.

(Dhukhr al-Dawlah informed me that he (Abu'l Ḥasim Muhammad b. 'Abbād) summoned him in a night which had worn the garment of full moon whose light was shining radiantly (it seemed as if) it had descended on a big tree and the reflection of the stars which looked like flowers could be seen in it.)

The metaphors and similes are so good and attractive that we enjoy them as much here as we do in poetry. For examples:

والرأى ما رآه الديانة كالصبح عند الاضمار  
 اذا لقي غمام اذا استقى فان احصى جاد . وان اسطقى كان كالصارم والنجاد .  
 محاب مع تواضعه .

(when the jurist Abū Ḥubammad became a judge he showed the government the face of honesty as clearly as the morning when it dawns. One found him noble when he met him and (generous) like a cloud when he asked for help. If he welcomed (some one) he was generous and if he chose he could be extremely brave (like) a sharp sword. He demanded respect (from people) inspite of his humility.)

Through similes we are sometimes reminded of some of the ancient literary figures of Islām. For instances:

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1. Ibid. : 204.

2. Ibid. : 205.

لا وان لها نصر ناظم هذه البلاغة • وقائد زمام البراعة • سبحانه  
 في زمانه • وفيه في اوانه • ولين الطبع في مكانه • والباحظ في اوانه •  
 (Never, verily Abū Naṣr was a person who strung the  
 thread of eloquence and held the rein of efficiency.  
 Sabḥān of his time; quss of his period, Ibn al-Muqaffa'  
 of his place and al-Jāhid of his time.)

Ibn Khāqān presents every biography in such a manner  
 that it arrests the attention of the reader. For instance if  
 we go through the following extract<sup>1</sup> about Abū al-Qāsim b. al-  
 Naqqāt, a vizir, it absorbs our attention since the very  
 beginning:

مستغذب المقاطع • كأنما صور من مظاهر • أبهى من حلى الظبي الجميل •  
 وأحلى من الأمن عند الخائف الرجل • يحب عطرا نشره ولا يحب حينها  
 نشره • تجليه بسلام • وتنشيه حساما •

(He has pleasant features as if his face was made of  
 radiant light; more brilliant than the cheek of the  
 shy gazelle; sweeter than the safety of a person who  
 was dreaded and frightened. He diffuses perfume; joy  
 never disappear from him. You always contemplate him  
 smiling and find him like an unsheathed sword.)

There are many passages in this work which denote the  
 social or political conditions of the period it covers. Some of  
 them are being given below:

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1. Ibid. : 170.

نقام للممتد ياداً وعلى دوحة تلك النماء ياداً . فاستجاد قوله  
وأنشأ عليه طوله . فصدرت أملاّت يداً . ومعه جوده ونداء .

(He stood praising al-Mu'tamid and chanting the glory  
of that shady tree full of blessings. Al Mu'tamid  
found his words to be nice and showered his benevolence  
on him. He came out (from there) in such a condition  
that his hands were full (of gifts) and his liberality  
and generosity made him live long.)<sup>1</sup>

From this extract we can conclude that the poets used their  
talents to acquire wealth for themselves.

وشرب مع الوزراء والكتاب يطعمه لونه عند أخيه .  
(He drank with the vizirs and the writers of the valley<sup>2</sup>  
of Lorea with his brother).

These words throw light on the fact that drinking was quite  
common among the upper class of the society.

ركب السمنين بالله يروا نهر سوسنة يهد طراد لذه و لرهاد  
نزهته . والنوارق قد حلت به والفت بهواته .

(One day al-Musta'in Billah went on a voyage in the river  
of Saragossa intending to pursue its pleasures and to  
explore its recreation. While it was full of small<sup>3</sup>  
boats surrounded by them from all sides).

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1. Ibid. : 6.

2. Ibid. : 100.

3. Ibid. : 184.

This quotation provides us the picture of a journey for the sake of entertainment. It also informs us about "الزور" (a small boat) used for this purpose.

وتجلت له منها حور كالمغن الباقوت والرجان . لم يطعمهن  
أنس قبلهم ولا جان .

(From there houris, who were like sapphires and the pearls, appeared before him. Neither human beings nor demons <sup>1</sup> had touched them earlier.)

The above lines bring in to light the feminine beauty of Spain and at the same time make effective use of a Qur'ānic verse.

By going through their works we can very well realise the difference between the work of Ibn Khāqān and those of the other biographers of the same period. Other writers often include in their works biographies of such a large number of persons that they come upto three or four digits. But the biographies are mostly short. Sometimes they do not provide any information beyond giving the names. Ibn Khāqān, on the other hand, has included only 59 biographies under study. But even the shortest biography covers at least one page. In this way he has shown due consideration to every person included in his work. To those persons whom he considers important in some respect he has devoted much more space. To the following

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1. Ibid. : 221.

eight persons he has allotted the largest number of pages: al-Mu'tasid 'ala Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. 'Abbād (27 pages), al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Abū Muḥammad 'Umar b. Muḥaffar (11 pages), Dhū al-Viṣṣatayn Abū al-Walīd Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Zaydūn, a poet (14 pages), Dhū al-Viṣṣatayn Abū Bakr b. 'Ammār (13 pages), Dhū al-Viṣṣatayn al-Qā'id Abū 'Isa b. Labbān (15 pages), Dhū al-Viṣṣatayn al-Musharrāf Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Rūḥīn (13 pages), Abū Isḥāq b. Khaffājah, a jurist and a litterateur (11 pages) and Abū Bakr Yahyā b. Jaqī, a poet (14 pages).

One of the demerits of the work is that Ibn al-Qāṣim has given the date of birth or death only in a few cases. Even in the case of important incidents he has not given the date or year. This has diminished its historical value largely.

De-slens has expressed the following opinion about the work : "I feel myself bound to say that the *Qalā'id al-'Iḡyān*<sup>1</sup> is a work as barren in facts as it is brilliant in style."

We would like to conclude that in terms of biographical and historical as well as literary value *Qalā'id al-'Iḡyān* is quite an important work produced by Spain at that time. But it is more valuable from literary than from any other point of view.

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1. De-Slens : English translation of *Safayāt al-A'yān* 2 : 458.

The work under study begins with a letter to the author from his contemporary, Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. al-Sayyid al-Batalyāsi. It ends with some verses but the name of their composer has not been given in the work.

Maṣraḥ al-anfus wa Maṣraḥ al-Ta'annus fī Muluk Ahl al-Andalus

by the same author. This is also a biographical dictionary. Only the last of the three has survived. This is a book of the same type as his first work and is rather its continuation.<sup>1</sup> Nāṣi Khallīrah has said about this work: "It was written in three versions: large, medium and small."<sup>2</sup> Only the last of the three has survived.

This work consists of 112 pages. He begins the book with a short introduction. As was the practice at that time, he starts the introduction in the name of Allāh and praises Him and His Messenger. Then he comes to the main theme of the introduction. After the introduction the main text begins. The text is divided into three almost equal parts. In the first section the author has included the biographies of some eighteen vizirs. The second consists of the biographies of the qāḍis and jurists. They are also eighteen in number. The third and last section deals with the biographic

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1. Nāṣi Khallīrah : Maṣraḥ al-ḥurūf : 1721-22.

2. al-Bustānī : Maṣraḥ al-ḥurūf : 457.

of some fourteen men of letters. The work does not contain a single biography of a woman.

In the whole book the author has quoted 1015 verses composed by various poets. These verses are distributed in all the biographies. This leads us to believe that the elite of the Spain of the period in general composed and enjoyed poetry. Out of these a good number of poems fall into the category of poetry of nature and erotic poems. Under the poetry of nature we come across verses mentioning *safarjal*, *naileofar*, *al-ward*, moon, stars, breeze and such other natural objects. Poems of satire, praise, blame, elegy etc. have also been quoted so also ascetic and philosophic poems. There are certain letters written in the form of poetry.

There is much material in these biographies which helps us to understand the social, political, religious and literary conditions of Spain at that time. As for example, on page 53 we find that the host offered food to his two guests and then ordered a slave girl to sing for them which she did. This throws light on the type of entertainment prevalent in Spain in those days.

In the biography of the jurist *Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥḥir b. Sa'īd al-Balūtī*, Ibn Khāqān has quoted two or three religious speeches delivered by him on different occasions. Once at the



time of a severe draught Sa'īd al-Balūṭī was brought to pray for rains by the order of the ruler. He delivered an incisive speech and prayed for rains and as soon as his sermon came to an end the people were drenched with the water of the rain. Ibn Khāqān has quoted the following words of al-Balūṭī about this incident:

لقد أذن الله تعالى بالسما إذا فتح جاز الأرض لله رحم جبار السما

(And Allāh, the exalted, permitted the water to pour.

when the tyrant of the earth submitted, the Almighty of the sky showed mercy).

This throws light on a particular type of religious atmosphere prevalent at that time.

One thing to be noticed in particular is that the author has given date of birth or death or both only in a very small number of cases. It may be due to the lack of information available to him.

The work differs from other works of this kind in the respect that the author of this work often refrains from giving a lengthy genealogy after the name of the persons concerned.

The style of the book is highly literary; often it is flowery and verbose which hinders the reader from understanding the main idea of the author clearly. It obliges one to think

that the author is more interested in the literary than the historical side of his writing. It seems that he chose to, <sup>write</sup> biography as he thought it to be the best medium to express his literary talent. There may even be chances that the work is a combination of fiction and facts at the same time.

In this work the author has devoted space for each person according to his merit. But he does not confine himself to mentioning simply the name of the person about whom he is writing and the date of his birth or death or both or at the most the name of the place to which he belonged. But even the smallest biography contained in this work consists of at least half a page in which the author provides quite good information about the person concerned. The biographies of atleast seven persons are given in greater detail. In this category are included : al-Hājib Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Muḥḥarī, Abū 'Imr Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Aḥmad al-Ashja'ī, a vizīr, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Iṣā, a jurist and judge.

In arranging the biographies Ibn Khāqān has neither followed the alphabetical order nor the chronological order. His method is rather arbitrary.

The work has been printed in Egypt in the year 1325 A.H. Al-Shaḥīrah fī Maḥāsni Aḥl-al-Jazīrah by Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī b. Bassām al-Shantarīnī, a native of Santaren. Forced to flee from his native town when it was captured by Alfonso V of castil

(485/1092-3), he went to Cordova for the first time in 493/1100 and during the following years undertook at Seville the compilation of his *Shakhrāh* and the collection of the *diwāns* of some great poets of the 5th/11th century. He was also a poet himself. He died in the year 543/1147. No one of his biographers has given more information about his life.

The present work, 'the only one of his works which has survived', is an anthology of literature - poetry as well as prose - by the contemporaries of the author in Spain. In certain cases he has also included the compositions of the literatures and poets belonging to the beginning of the 5th/11th and even to the end of the preceding century. The author has collected in it many historical quotations from *Kitāb al-Mubīn*<sup>3</sup> by Ibn Ḥayyān, the greatest historian of the middle ages in Spain. Ibn Bassām himself has added some historical information which he could not get from Ibn Ḥayyān. As Ibn Ḥayyān has already been dealt with in this thesis here we are concerned only with the historical information provided by Ibn Bassām.

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1. Yāqūt : *Mu'jam al-Ukabā'* 5:106 (London, 1929); *Ḥajjī Khalīfah* *Maḥṣaf al-Zunūn* 3:331 (London, 1836 A.D.); Al-Haqarri : *Maḥṣaf al-Ṭib* 2 : 123.
  2. *Encyclopaedia of Islām* 3 : 734.
  3. This work is known also by the title '*al-Matīn*' or '*Tārīkh al-Kabīr*.'

In the introduction of the first part of this work Dr. Thāhā Husayn has said that there were two factors which compelled the author to compile this work. The first reason was that the author was a patriotic Spaniard and was keen to establish Spain's superiority in the fields of literature and science and especially the superiority of his own contemporaries over the writers and thinkers in the East. The second reason was that he was desirous to imitate *Isṭiṣāḥ al-Baḥr* by al-Ṭha'ālī<sup>1</sup> in which he has discussed the literature produced by his contemporary poets and writers.

So by imitating al-Ṭha'ālī, Ibn Bassām has divided his work into four parts. The contents of all the four parts have been mentioned in the first volume of the first part. He has reserved the first part for the men of letters and poets of Cordova and its surrounding districts, while he has devoted the second part to the western part of al-Andalus, i.e. Seville and its surrounding areas and the third part to the eastern part of al-Andalus and the fourth to the poets and men of letters belonging to other nations but living in al-Andalus.

In the introduction of the work Ibn Bassām has said that he has begun each part of his work with the rulers and then given the accounts of the secretaries, ministers, important poets

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1. Ibn Bassām : *al-Shaḡīrah fī Maḥāsin Aḥl al-Jazīrah* I 1:1.

etc., who were attached with those rulers, one after another separately. But he wanted to give preference to the writers and not to the political figures and hence he reserved the first few pages of the first part to the account of the writers.

The author has said that in the *Yatimah al-Tha'ālabī* has left out the political history as well as historical account of the persons whose writings he has collected. This leaves the reader unsatisfied because he is usually desirous to know at least something about the life of the persons whose writings he studies and also the political and social background of the persons concerned. So Ibn Nassār himself has provided in his work the necessary political history as well as the account of the writers. For this he has mainly depended on the *Tā'riḥ al-Kabīr* of Ibn Ḥayyān. Hence he has begun his work with the history of the kings of Banū Ḥaṣṣān.<sup>1</sup>

In the biography of Ibn Ḥayyān in the *Encyclopedia of Islām* the importance of al-*Ḥakhīrah* regarding the preservation of the material included in al-*Matīn* has been admitted thus: "Ibn Ḥayyān's original work - the most important in the whole Muslim historiography of the Peninsula - is the *Matīn*, which covers the history of his own times, namely, nearly the whole of the 3th/11th century, in sixty parts or volumes with an admirable attention to detail and an exactitude which are highlighted by a rare

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1. Ibid. : 23-24.

political understanding of events. Although all the volumes of the Maṭn are lost, the author's great admirer Ibn Bassām has preserved for us such numerous and extensive passages that, thanks to the (still incomplete) edition of the al-ḥakīmīyah published in Egypt, it has become possible to reconstruct - admittedly with difficulty - a large part of the vanished text; this arises from the scrupulous fidelity, rare in mediaeval literature, with which Ibn Bassām always indicates the beginning and end of the passages transcribed.<sup>1</sup>"

Though al-ḥakīmīyah was written in eight volumes, only three volumes, first and second volumes of the first part and the first volume of the fourth part, have been published so far in the years 1939, 1942 and 1945 A.D. respectively in Cairo. In all these three volumes we get 74 historical quotations of various lengths from Ibn Ḥayyān. As Ibn Bassām has collected these quotations in a scattered form, they do not provide a complete or continuous history. Even then from these quotations we are able to know at least some history of Spain during the period it covers, the nature of the information he has gathered and the method of his arrangement of the historical events.

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The following quotation from the introduction by Ibn Ḥayyān himself in his Tārīkh al-Kabīr, as quoted by Ibn Bassām,

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 789.

2. Ibn Bassām : al-ḥakīmīyah 1, 1 : 83.

may help us to understand the contents of the work:

فرکت سنز من قدامی فیما جمعتہ من اخبار ملوک هذه الفتنہ البہیمة  
ونظمہ وکتبت عنہ وأرجیت فیہ ذکر دولہم المضطربة وسیاساتہم  
المضطربة وأسباب کبار الأمراء المفلتین فی البلاد طبعہم . وسبب انقراض  
دولہم حال فعال بأیدیہم ومضمون سیرتہم وأخبارہم وما جرى فی  
مدنہم وأحصارہم من السروب والطوائل والوقائع واللاحق الی ذکر مقاتل  
الاعلام والفرسان ورواة الصلحاء والاعتراف حسب ما التفت الیہ مصرفتی  
وبالله طاقتی .

(In what I have collected from the history of the  
kings during the barbaric insurrection I have followed  
the norms set up by my predecessors; I have arranged  
it properly and brought its hidden facts into light;  
I have contained in it the account of their troubled  
dynasties, their repulsive politics, motives of the  
great and violent native commanders who were against  
them, reasons for the collapse of their kingdoms gra-  
dually at their hands, the well known features of  
their character, their affairs and what took place  
during their rule; the wars and retaliations and  
encounters and massacres that occurred at that time;  
also the account of the murder of eminent personalities  
and heroes, the death of the learned men and the nobles,  
as far as I could understand and was able to collect).

These three volumes mostly deal with the history of  
Amirids. In the first two volumes we get only scattered

pieces of their history but in the first volume of the fourth part we get a continuous but short account of the 'Amirids from the beginning to the end.<sup>1</sup> Here we also get the accounts of the Hammūdiis, Jahwarids and Banū Dhū al-Mūn.

From the quotations of Ibn Ḥayyān available in this work we realise that no historian of Muslim Spain either before him or immediately following him has attempted to write such a detailed history as he has done.

As far as the variety of the subjects discussed in the book is concerned, the author has referred to it in his introduction.

Ibn Ḥayyān has provided<sup>2</sup> an elaborate and interesting account of the offices which existed during the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hišām. Some of them were quite unique and must have been very useful. Ibn Bassām has said: Under every category of these officials there were groups of people whom Abū Marwān Ibn Ḥayyān has named in his book.<sup>3</sup> From this we also realise that Ibn Ḥayyān has devoted space to various persons keeping in mind their historical value.

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1. Ibid. IV, 1 : 39-36.

2. Ibid. I, 1 : 36.

3. Ibid. : 37.



Ibn Ḥayyān has attached the same importance to the glorious days of Spain which he has attached to the period of its decline. For instance he has written about the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, the 'Amirid that during this period the people of Spain lived a happy and prosperous life. He reduced the burden of taxes from them to a large extent. They came to love and support him. The atmosphere of the whole country was full of honesty and integrity. People engaged themselves in various trades and occupations. Their prosperity was evident from their way of life as it became more civilised. It enriched and beautified Spain. The renown of 'Abd al-Malik spread<sup>1</sup> near and far and he became the happiest man in Spain.

<sup>2</sup>  
Like this at another place Ibn Ḥayyān has described the anarchy which prevailed in the days of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāsirī, al-Mustakfi Billāh.

Ibn Bassām has quoted from Ibn Ḥayyān a detailed account<sup>3</sup> of some wars also. Among them is the war of Cordova.

In his work Ibn Bassām has shown special interest in collecting the quotations in which Ibn Ḥayyān has described violent deaths of some important personalities:

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1. Ibid. IV, 2 : 59.

2. Ibid. I, 1 : 381.

3. Ibid. : 387.

- (1) Al-Mustashir Billāh Abī al-Mutarrif 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Nāḡirī.
- (2) 'Alī b. Hammūd (3) Mundhir (4) Yafyā b. Hammūd
- (5) 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Murtaḡā
- (6) Aḥmad b. 'Abbās and (7) Zubayr, of Banū 'Āmir.

At another place<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān has described in length the scene of the murder of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām. As is his practice, he has also given the reason of the murder. He has said that 'Abd al-Rahmān was murdered because he acted against the feelings of the masses. The masses were against the predominant position of the Berbers in Cordova.

From this work we come to know that Ibn Ḥayyān has shown the same excellence in the field of literary history as he has shown in the field of political history. He has collected some poems also. However Ibn Bassām has criticised him as he has only collected the poems but has not evaluated them critically.<sup>2</sup>

While writing the history of his own time, Ibn Ḥayyān hardly relies on secondary sources but narrates either his own experience or the experience of the person from whom he has collected the information directly. This makes his work more authentic.

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1. Ibid. : 38-39.

2. Ibid. : IV, 1 : 109.

Ibn Hayyan has manifested his aristocratic mentality<sup>1</sup> at many places, as for example he says about 'Isā b. Sa'id that he did not have a memorable past nor belonged to a pre-eminent family and his father was a mere teacher and about the amir of Saragossa, Mundhir b. Yahyā<sup>2</sup>, that he was previously an ordinary soldier.

The following extract throws light on the religious as well as patriotic feelings of Ibn Hayyān<sup>3</sup>. He says: The enemy of Allāh collected all his forces to attack the land of Islām' ( حشدوا الله جميعه لنزول الاسلام ). Here his devotion to both Islām and Spain is revealed because he considers Spain to be an Islamic country. So he considers the christians as the enemies of Allāh because they attacked Spain.

Due to the religious and patriotic feelings and aristocratic mentality of the author it would not be far from truth to conclude that Ibn Hayyān's work is not totally impartial. But at the same time it is absolutely true to say that from 10th to 12th century A.D. there was no one who deserved more than him the title 'the greatest historian of Spain, both Muslim and Christian.'<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid. I 1 : 103.

2. Ibid. : 152.

3. Ibid. : IV, 1 : 30.

4. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 789.

Before concluding this discussion it would be advisable to give a short account of Ibn Bassām's contribution to historiography with reference to al-Dhakhīrah. Though not very significant, yet his contribution is not altogether negligible. Though basically it is a work of literature in which he has arranged literary quotations of his period under the names of various writers, yet he has also quoted the historical writings of Ibn Hayyān and made it a biographical dictionary to a large extent as he has given a short biographical account of each writer. In this way he has provided the account of 34 writers in the first part of this work and the account of 46, 33 and 32 writers in the second, third and fourth parts respectively. Ibn Bassām has written the names of all these persons in his introduction in the first volume. As such it has become a valuable contribution in the field of the literary history of the period it covers. Ibn Bassām has also himself given some historical information in between the quotations he has collected from Ibn Hayyān at many places. Particularly in the first volume of the fourth part of this work, from page 109 to 132, he has dealt with the history of Banū Dhū'l Ifn. Here but for two quotations from Ibn Hayyān in two pages at the beginning the whole of the remaining history has been written by Ibn Bassām himself.

On page 116 and of Part IV, Volume I of this work he has recorded some historical information and has said that he has

referred to certain incidents in previous volumes also. But unfortunately those volumes have not yet been published.

Ibn Bassām has mentioned the dates of various important historical events wherever he has felt it necessary.

At another place<sup>1</sup> he has depicted both the virtues and vices of Yahyā, the grandson of Ibn Dhī al-Nūn. He has praised him for his confidence, refinement, charming conversation and such other qualities but at the same time has admitted that he was not an educated person nor had a literary background. This manifests the impartiality and objectivity of Ibn Bassām while dealing with his subjects.

Usually his style is rhymed but not difficult to follow. Ahmad Amin has compared Ibn Bassām's style with that of his contemporary al-Faṭḥ b. Khayqān<sup>2</sup> as follows:

لأذا نظرنا إلى أسلوب الذخيرة وأسلوب الفتح وجدنا أن أسلوب  
الذخيرة أقرب إلى نفوسنا فمولا يلتزم السجع كما يفعل الفتح من  
خافان وأسلوب الفتح هذا أجوف يلمص بالألفاظ والاستعارات  
لمص البهلوان .

(If we pay attention to the style of al-Dhakhīrah  
and that of al-Faṭḥ we will find that the style  
of al-Dhakhīrah is nearer to our hearts. He

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1. Ibn Bassām : al-Dhakhīrah IV, 1 : 116.

2. Ahmad Amin : Zuhul Islām 3 : 281.

(Ibn Bassām) does not adhere to the rhymed prose as does al-Faḥḥ Ibn Khāqān. The style of al-Faḥḥ is hollow and he (Ibn Khāqān) plays with words and metaphors just like a wrestler).

Both for political as well as literary history of Spain of the period<sup>1</sup> cover, these three published volumes of al-Dhakhīrah are a meritorious contribution.

Kitāb al-Silah fī Tā'rīkh al-'Imam al-Andalus wa 'Ulamā'ihim wa Muḥaddithīhim wa Fuqahā'ihim wa 'Ushabā'ihim by Abū'l Qāsim

Khālaf b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Maṣ'ūd b. Mūsā b. Bashkuwāl. Ibn Bashkuwāl was born at Cordova<sup>1</sup> in 494 A.H./1101 A.D. and died<sup>2</sup> there on wednesday night, 8 Rameḍān 578/4-5 January 1183. He received his early education at Cordova from his father and then at Seville where he was taught by Abū Muḥammad b. 'Attāb, Abū Baḥr b. al-'Ās, Abū'l Walīd b. Ruḥd, Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī and other celebrated scholars. Ibn Farḥūn has written about Ibn Bashkuwāl that he was an extensive reporter, paid full attention to and was well aware of the meanings of what he reported. He has provided evidence for what he has reported. He was the most outstanding of his contemporary writers in this

1. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 2 : 359.
2. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 2 : 359; Ibn Khallikān : Safayāt al-A'yān 2:130; George Barton : Introduction to the history of Science II, 1 : 249-50.
3. Al-Dhahabī : Tadhkirat al-Huffāz 4:1339; Ibn Farḥūn: al-Mabāj: 114.

respect.<sup>1</sup> He was appointed qāḍī of a certain area of Seville, as a deputy to Ibn al-ʿArabī,<sup>2</sup> but he soon gave up this post for teaching and research.<sup>3</sup> He has written fifty works on different branches of knowledge.<sup>4</sup> Among his works are included:

- (1) Al-Ghawānīm al-Asnāʾ al-Mubhamāt, 10 parts;
- (2), Al-Hikāyat al-Mustaghribah.
- (3) Al-qurb ila-Allāh bi'l Silāt 'alā Nabīyyihī
- (4) Dhikr man Sawā al-Muwattaʾ 'an Mālik, 2 parts.
- (5) Akhbār al-A'mash, 3 parts
- (6) Tarjumat al-Hasā'ī.
- (7) Akhbār al-Mufāsaiḥ
- (8) Akhbār Ism'īl al-Jadī
- (9) Akhbār Ibn Wahab
- (10) Akhbār Ahl al-Mufrat al-Qamḥa'ī
- (11) Luḡat al-Qurṭubah, 3 parts
- (12) Al-Musalsalāt
- (13) Ḥadīth man Kadhaba 'Alayya bi-Turquḥī
- (14) Akhbār Ibn al-Mubārak, 2 parts and
- (15) Akhbār Ibn 'Uyaynah.

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1. Ibn Farḥūn : al-Dībāj : 114.

2. Al-Bḥababī : Taḥkīrat al-Muffāḡ 4 : 1339.

3. Ibn Farḥūn : al-Dībāj : 114; al-Bḥababī : Taḥkīrat 4:1339.

4. Al-Bḥababī : Taḥkīrat 4 : 1339.

According to al-Zirkilī<sup>1</sup> the first book in this list is in 12 volumes and the fourth one has only one part. He has added one more title, i.e. : al-Maḥāsīn wa'l Fadā'il (20 parts) and has written the full name of al-Hikāyāt al-Mustaghribah as al-Fawā'id al-Mustakhabah wa'l Hikāyāt al-Mustaghribah. It has not been possible to find out whether besides the Kitāb al-Silah any other work of Ibn Baḥkūwāl has been published. Jurjī Zaydān<sup>2</sup> lauds Ibn Baḥkūwāl in these terms: 'One of the most noble historians and great learned men of al-andalus.'

As the title indicates, the work under study is 'the continuation' of Tā'rīkh<sup>3</sup> 'Ulamā' al-Andalus by Ibn al-Faradī which has already been dealt with separately. The author has written in the preface of the work<sup>3</sup> that he attempted this work on the request of some of his companions to write a continuation of the work of Ibn al-Faradī. He began it from the period where Ibn al-Faradī had ended his work and made it upto date. He has arranged the biographies of various persons in alphabetical order and in each chapter has imitated the pattern and style of Ibn al-Faradī and has arranged the biographies according to the date of the death of the person concerned.

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1. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 2 : 389.

2. Jurjī Zaydān : Tarīkh Adāb al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah 3:77.

3. Ibn Baḥkūwāl : Kitāb al-Silah: 2.



The Silah is a biographical dictionary of those distinguished Spaniards as well as non-Spaniards who flourished there during the period it covers. In addition to it the book contains references to the social, cultural, religious and literary condition of Spain during the period.

The Silah (Madrid, 1332) is in two volumes. As a whole both the volumes contain 1440 biographies of which 16 are of women. In the Silah the author has quoted 170 verses.

The work begins with an introduction by the author in 3 1/2 pages. Though the biographies have been written in alphabetical order, the author has started the work with the name 'Ahmad' to express his respect to the Prophet. The work has not been divided into two parts on a scientific basis as a part of the biography of 'Alī b. Ahmad b. Sa'īd b. Harn has been included in the first volume and the rest in the second. The work begins with the name Ahmad b. Khalaf b. Muhammad and ends with the name Yazīd. Then the biographies of women have been added. After them we come across some fifteen more biographies which are not in alphabetical order. This makes the total number 1440.

Under each alphabet a separate portion is reserved for such names which are not borne by more than one person under the title Tafāriq al-Asmā'. Under each name the author first gives the account of those people who belong to Spain and then

of those who came there from outside. In writing these biographies the author has followed a uniform pattern. First of all he mentions the name of the person concerned with his genealogy; then he mentions his native place which is followed by 'Kunya' (nickname) and occasionally other familiar names also, if any, by which the person concerned is known. This is followed by a list of those teachers under whom he has had his education along with the name of the places to which they belonged. He also points out in detail the sources from which he has gathered his information. Then he furnishes the additional information available to him, for example the list of the works of men of letters, quotations from the poems of the poets and the meritorious acts performed by some of the persons included in the work. At the end he gives the date and year of death and the year of birth. But in a good number of biographies one of these dates is omitted and in some cases none of them has been furnished.

The largest number of biographies come under the alphabets 'ا' (270), 'ب' (51), 'ج' (83), 'د' (92), 'هـ' (431), 'و' (253), and 'ز' (78). Under 'Alif' persons having the name Ahmad are 137 and Ibrahim 41 in number. Under 'Khā' there are 72 biographies bearing the name Khalaf. Sulaymān and Sa'īd are the two names having 23 and 50 biographies respectively under 'āin'. Under 'Ain' the respective number of biographies having the names 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd

al-'Azīz, 'Umar, 'Alī and 'Isā are 117, 84, 21, 26, 28, 48 and 23. Under 'Mīn' the name Muḥammad is having 218 biographies. There are '23' persons having the name Hisham under 'Hā'. And under 'Yā' the names Yabyā and Yūsuf are having 40 and 23 biographies respectively. Under the alphabet 'b' (Za) no biography has been given. The work contains a large number of short biographies which are not much informative and hence of little value. The longest biography, that of Ibn al-Faradī, covers 43 pages. There are seven persons, namely Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydah, Baḥīyy b. Muḥliad Abū 'Abd al-Faḥmān, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Faradī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Futays, 'Uthmān b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥammūd, 'Aṭīyyah b. Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh, and Muḥammad b. 'Atāb b. Muḥsin, to each of whom he has devoted between 2 and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pages. There are 28 persons the length of whose biographies extends to two pages each. There are 57 biographies the length of each one of them is one page or a little more. The rest of the biographies are of less than one page.

The Silah contains the biographies of famous faqīhs, qādis qāris, traditionists, teachers, mathematicians, poets, men of letters, historians, grammarians, medicos, merchants and such other persons. Although we get glimpses of certain political figures here and there, it seems that Ibn Baḥkūwāl has taken special care not to include the political figures in this work

as far as possible. Ibn Baḥkūwāl has mentioned only the virtues of the persons whose biographies he has written. Hence we find no trace of any vice or defect in them while going through the Silah. This may be considered to be a defect of the work.

An important point which requires special attention is that Ibn Baḥkūwāl has not dealt with any controversial subject in this work nor he has tried to analyse any problem critically. He has only ~~tr~~ traced bare facts as they were available to him.

However, Ibn Baḥkūwāl has made the Silah an important historical work and source material of the period it covers. He has collected in it information from all the available sources and has clearly mentioned these sources. His effort to provide the exact dates of birth and death in as many biographies as possible has made it more valuable. Wherever he could not give the exact dates he has tried to give the approximate dates. He has tried to make the work interesting by describing the dreams and virtuous deeds of some pious men in certain biographies<sup>1</sup> which read like stories.

Throughout the Silah we feel an orthodox religious approach. It shows that the predominant jurist school of thought in

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1. Ibn Baḥkūwāl : al-Silah : Nos. 277, 280, 457, 846, 960, 1033, 1192 etc.

Spain was <sup>1</sup>Malikite. But there were certain followers of the <sup>2</sup>Shāfi'ite and Hanafi'ite schools of thought also.

Khalaf b. Ahmad b. Khalaf was a pious man. About him the information has been given that he was a God fearing man and when he was asked to become the qāḍī of Toledo he refused the offer and fled away. He fasted mostly and spent at least <sup>3</sup>some part of every night in prayers.

This type of information has been given about many other persons also.

In the biography of 'Abd al-Jahhān b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā, a bibliophile, his love of books has been described and it is said that he collected such a large number of books the like of which no one of his contemporaries in Spain could do. He had employed six copyists for copying books and if he came to <sup>4</sup>know of a new book either he purchased it or got it copied.

The biographies of women contained in this book throw light on a particular aspect of the Spanish society, i.e. women made their mark in various literary and social fields there at that time. Malīdah bint al-Mustakfā (no. 1418) is most

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1. Ibid. Nos. 1199, 1201 and 1204.

2. Ibid. No. 754.

3. Ibid. : 163-9.

4. Ibid. : 304-5.

famous among the poetesses who flourished in Spain. Other famous poetesses were Safiyyah (No. 1416), Maryam bint Abī Ya'qūt (No. 1423) and al-Qibassāniyyah (No. 1424). Fāṭimah bint Yūsuf stands out as a representative of the women jurists who flourished in Spain. Women were employed as clerks also. Lubnā (No. 1413) and Humnah (No. 1414) served as clerks under the rulers al-Hakam b. 'Abd al-Rahmān<sup>and</sup> al-Hāsir al-Dīnīyah respectively. Ghālibah bint Muḥammad (No. 1411) emerges as a representative of the lady teachers of Spain.

It has been mentioned in the biography of Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. Abī al-Rabi' that he had a conference hall in the congregational mosque of Cordova where he preached to the people who came to him in large numbers from early in the morning. This information throws light on the fact that a large number of people attended the lectures of the men of learning in the mosques of Spain.

Contrary to the practice of the other Spanish Muslim historians, Ibn Baḥquwāl has mentioned English months on two or three occasions. For example in the biography of Aḥmad b. Sa'id b. Kawthar al-Anṣārī (No. 69) he has written: 'We were a little more than forty students. I used to go to his house during the months of November, December and January (to attend his lectures) in a room where the woolen carpet was spread.'<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. : 38-39.

The author has also given some interesting and useful information about certain buildings. For example he has written about the mosque of Cordova that those who heard him say that the height of the minaret of the congregational mosque of Cordova was 40 yards or a little more according to the yard used there<sup>1</sup> at that time.'

As we get information about many unknown authors as well as the works written in different branches of literature during the period covered by al-Ṣilah, it is<sup>a</sup> meritorious contribution in the field of literary history also.

Though a continuation of the 'Tā'rikh al-'Ulamā'' of Ibn al-Faradī, there is a clear difference between the two as Ibn Bashkuwāl has not reserved a special portion in it for the political history of the period. Another difference is that Ibn Bashkuwāl has reserved some space for women which the former has not done.

The Ṣilah was continued by Ibn Abbār (1199-1260 A.D.) of Valencia under the title al-Takmilah li-Kitāb al-Ṣilah and in the 8th/14th century it was again supplemented by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr under the title "Ṣilat al-Ṣilah".

<sup>2</sup>  
At the end of the work it is given that Ibn Bashkuwāl completed it in Jamādī al-Awwal 534 A.H. But in the biographies

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1. Ibid. 31.

2. Ibid. 80.

of Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm (No.222)<sup>1</sup>, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Thābit (No.223)<sup>2</sup>, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (No.178)<sup>3</sup> and Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Qantari (No.1438)<sup>4</sup> their respective years of death have been given as 541, 541, 542 and 551 A.H. In view of this the year of the completion of the work becomes doubtful.

Bughyat al-Multanis fī Tā rīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus: by al-Jabbī, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. 'Adīrah, an Andalusian Scholar of the 6th/12th century. Al-Jabbī was born at Valez, to the west of Lores and he began his studies in Lores.<sup>5</sup> The date of year of his birth is not known. He travelled in North Africa (Centa, Marrākush, Bougie) and even reached Alexandria but appears to have spent the greater part of his life at Murcia.<sup>6</sup> In Bougie he met 'Abd al-Haqq al-Ishbīlī and in Alexandria Abū Tāhir b. 'Awf.<sup>7</sup> He was a pious man : kept fasts, read the holy Qur'ān and listened to the traditions of the Prophet. He also

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1. Ibid. : 104.

2. Ibid. : 104.

3. Ibid. : 86.

4. Ibid. : 643.

5. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 1 : 254.

6. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 1:254; Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkis : Mu'jam al-Matbū'at : 193; Stephen and Nandy Fouart : Concise Encyclopedia of Arabic Civilization 2:128 (Amsterdam, 1966).

7. Al-Maqqarī: Naḥḥ al-Ṭib 3:361; Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkis : Mu'jam al-Matbū'at : 193.



went for pilgrimage<sup>1</sup>. During his travels he met great scholars like al-Qasnawī, Ibn Barr, Abū al-Iḥān al-Harrānī and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Muraytibī<sup>2</sup>. It is not known whether he has written any works other than *Bughyat al-Multamīs*. He died at the end of Rabī' al-Thānī 599/beginning of 1203.<sup>3</sup>

*Bughyat al-Multamīs* is a biographical dictionary of Andalusian scholars preceded by a short survey of the history of Muslim Spain. The book is generally known by two names: *Bughyat al-Multamīs fī Tā'rīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus*<sup>4</sup> and *Bughyat al-Multamīs fī Tā'rīkh Rijāl al-Andalus*<sup>5</sup>. But the name of the book in its complete form is:

'*Bughyat al-Multamīs fī Tā'rīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus*  
'*Ulamā'ihā wa 'Umrā'ihā wa Shu'arā'ihā wa Dhawī al-Mabāhāt fī k̄ā*  
*Minna Dakhala Ilayhā Av Kharaja 'Anhā'* which throws much light on its contents.

The author himself says about the contents of this work that he has included in it the biographies of those traditionists, of these traditionists, jurists, men of letters, poets and other

1. Al-Maqqarī : *Harf al-Jib* 3:341; al-Bustānī : *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif* 2 : 71 (Matba'ah al-Ma'ārif, Beirut, 1977).
2. Al-Maqqarī : *Harf al-Jib* 3 : 341.
3. Al-Zirkilī : *al-A'lām* 1 : 254.
4. Jurjī Zaydān : *Tā'rīkh Adab al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah* 3:77; Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs : *Mu'jam al-Maḥbū'āt* : 193.

renowned men who belonged to Spain or went out of it or came to it in order to acquire knowledge or leadership or to take part in wars, from the time it was conquered (by the Muslims) and mainly the biographies of those Muslims of the second generation (Tābiʿūn) at whose hands it was conquered. For its material al-Jabbarī had to rely mainly on the work of al-Humaydī (Dughyat al-Muqtabis) which contained the information only upto the year 450 A.H. He has included in this work that information also which al-Humaydī had left out.<sup>1</sup>

In the introduction of the book, after defining the method of his treatment of the subject, he gives a short history of Muslim Spain. He starts the history in these words:<sup>2</sup>

نأما اول وقت انتاحا في سنة اثنين وتسعين من الهجرة في  
القرن الثاني الذي اخبر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم انه خير القرون .

(As far as the first victory of Spain is concerned, it took place in 93 A.H. during the period of the second generation of Muslims about whom the Prophet, Peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him, has said that it was one of the best generations).

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(Continued from the previous page)

5. Al-Zirkilī : Al-A'lām 2 : 254.

1. Al-Jabbarī : Dughyat al-Muqtabis : 5.

2. Ibid. : 6.

quoting Anas b. Mālik, as he had heard from his aunt, Ummu Harām, he says that the Prophet had predicted the victory of the Muslims over Spain. Then he says that this prediction was one of those things which he learnt because he was a Prophet. It meant to inform about <sup>a</sup> thing before it <sup>1</sup> happened and it actually happened as he had informed.

وهذا علم من اعلام نبوة صلى الله عليه وسلم و مواخير بالشئ  
فيلكون مطعوماً آخره .

When somebody said that in this prediction about Spain the Prophet actually meant the people of Sicily or Crete and not the people of Spain itself, at-Tabbī opined that the Prophet was quite unequivocal in his words and hence there should be no doubt about his intention in this regard.

The manner in which he proves that the Prophet had never been equivocal in his statements makes us aware of his highly logical mind. Such a logical mind can be possessed only by a man of vast learning and experience.

When he refers to Andalus as Andalusā<sup>2</sup> he gives clear expression to his patriotic feelings. Here the pronoun nā stands for the Muslims of Spain and it indicates that he could not think of Spain without the Muslims.

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1. Ibid. 7.

2. Ibid. 8.

Then al-Dabul gives the account of the conquest of Sicily. But he is not sure about the year of its conquest. So he has left vacant space there. He might have thought of gathering information relating to it later. But he could not do so.

Then he gives a short historical account of Spain since the time of Tāriq b. Ziyād entered it upto the year 591 A.H. While writing this account, he has utilized the beauties of the Arabic language fully. He has used the words most economically. At the same time he has tried his level best not to exclude any event or personality worth mentioning. He has not omitted the account of a ruler even if he had ruled only for a very short period. For example<sup>1</sup> he has not forgotten to refer to Hamīd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān, called al-Manṣūr, who ruled only for 14 days and to Sayf al-Dawlah Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥud who ruled for 80 days in the year 483 A.H.

After giving a general account of the history upto the period of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil he has mentioned the reign of each Umayyad ruler under a separate title. Then under two heads he has given a general account of the rule of Ḥasanīyūn and Banī 'Abbād. As far as the Umayyad rulers are concerned, he has strictly followed a set pattern : first of all he has mentioned the name of the ruler, then his relation with the

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1. Ibid: 22.

former ruler, his age at the time of his accession to throne, the name of his mother, those qualities which he considers worth mentioning in him, some important events of his reign and in the end the year in which he died. He is mostly good in analysing the character of the personalities he has included in his work.

He has eulogised people for their virtues. For example, about Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān he has written:

وكان محباً للمعلم مؤثراً لاهل الحديث عارفاً حسن السيرة

(He was fond of various branches of knowledge, preferred the transmitters of ḥadīth and recognised noble character in people).<sup>1</sup>

and about 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad:

وكان رادعاً لا يشرب الخمر وفي ايامه امتلات الاندلس بالفن

(He was a teetotaler, did not drink wine though in his days Spain was full of evils).<sup>2</sup>

and about Hishām b. Muhammad al-Mu'tad:

وكان يشهد الحناظر ويصود العرس جانياً في طرفة السالمين ومويع

ذلك يدبر الامر بتدبير السلاطين المتكلمين وكان مأموراً وقرة

في ايامه حرمأ يامن فيه كل خائف من غيره الى ان مات .

(He accompanied the dead bodies (to the graveyard) and visited the patients. In this manner he followed the path of pious men. Along with it he looked after his

1. Ibid. : 16.

2. Ibid. : 17.

affairs in the manner of the conquering sultans and remained safe. Cordova in his days was a protected area where all were free from fear of others till he died.)<sup>1</sup>

At the same time he has criticised some other people for their vices as he has written about al-Hakam:

وكان ظمناً مرفاً له اشار سوء نيحة وعوالده اقع اهل  
الرب النعمة المشعورة لقتلهم وعدم ديارهم و مساجد م .

(He was a tyrant and spent money extravagantly. He has left behind him evil and shameful results of his actions. It was he whose assault on the people of Babad, in which he killed them and demolished their houses and mosques, is notorious).<sup>2</sup>

#### HIS MAIN CONTRIBUTION:

Bughyat al-Hultamā consists of 528 pages of which 31 pages are devoted to introduction. It contains the biographies of 1395 distinguished Spaniards and those non-Spainards who stayed in or visited Spain since Islām was introduced to this country. In this work al-Dabbī has mentioned all the important personalities connected with Spain in one way or the other as he could but she has given special importance to the literary

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1. Ibid. : 24.

2. Ibid. : 16.

and religious figures: jurists, traditionists, authors, poets, grammarians and historians. The Caliphs, governors, judges, Orators and the like also occupy a high place. Thus dealing with the achievements of the people of varied interests, the work provides us valuable material on culture, literature and religion of the period covered by it. In it we get a glimpse of the social, political and religious conditions of Spain since the introduction of Islām to his own days.

In the beginning of his work al-pabbī has given the biographies of the persons having the name Muḥammad. The names <sup>except these few persons whose name is Muḥammad</sup> of their forefathers, b. Muḥammad, have been given in alphabetical order. The number of persons whose name is Muḥammad is 326. Then he has written the biographies in alphabetical order. But here also he has given preference to the persons bearing the name Aḥmad. Such persons are 134 in number. The reason for placing the people with the names of Muḥammad and Aḥmad at the head of his work is obvious, that is to show his respect to the Prophet. Then he follows the alphabetical order strictly. At the end of each alphabet he has given such names which are borne by a single person under the subtitle 'Afrād al-asmā' (الأفراد بالاسماء). After completing alphabetical order he has mentioned those persons who are known by their 'Kunya' and their real names are not familiar. Such persons are 80 in number. Then come those persons whose names are not known. Instead they are known by the names of their fathers or grand-fathers. They are 17 in number. Then eight such persons are mentioned who are known

only by their 'nisbah' (Kinship). Then at the end are given the biographies of 13 famous women.

The author has devoted space to the biographies of various persons according to their importance in his eyes. He gives either only names or names, date and places of birth or death or both in case of some unimportant persons along with their genealogies. He has often put dotted lines here and there throughout the work. He might have thought of furnishing further information later. But in certain cases it seems that he does so because he does not consider it desirable to put it in black and white. He follows a strict code in writing the biographies. First of all the name of the person is mentioned with his genealogy and place to which he belongs; then the kunyah or some other familiar name by which he is known is mentioned which is followed by his main qualities. After this the sources through which he gathered the information are mentioned. Then, if necessary, additional information has been provided. In the end the date of birth or death or both are given. As for poets, he quotes verses from their important poems. As regards pious men, he mentions incidents which throw light on their piety. And as far as learned men are concerned, he explains their passion for learning. For example he says about Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Arabī that he used to keep books on both his right and left sides. He had a long robe to wear at night and



as soon as he felt sleepy he went to bed without changing it and at the very moment he got up from sleep he caught hold of the book and started reading it again in the light of the lamp which was not extinguished by then.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Dabbī has dealt with the biographies of at least ten important personalities in detail. They include Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Arabī, a jurist (six pages) and Ahmad b. Kulayb, a grammarian and poet and Sa'id b. al-Hasan al-Fōbī, a linguist, (five pages each).

When we look into the biographies of the poets Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Ishāq b. Fōhir, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Duḥaym Abū Bakr, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Rabbih and the like we draw the conclusion that the poets usually belonged to noble and educated families. Through the biographies of Muhammad b. Husayn b. Abū 'Abd Allāh, Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Ahmad b. Bishr al-Anṣārī and the like we come to know that jurists were often traditionalist also. At the same time there were exceptions to this rule, for example, Muhammad b. Zakariyā b. ḡaṭām and some other people were pure traditionalists, while Muhammad b. Abī Sufrah Abū 'Abd Allāh and the like were pure jurists.

According to Buḡhyat al-Multamīs the syllabus which was common in Spain at that time included jurisprudence, tradition,

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1. Ibid. : 83.

literature, grammar, history and rarely logic also. Recitation of the Qur'ān and learning it byheart were also included in the curriculum.

Al-pabbī relied for information on a large number of learned people. Amongst them the most familiar were : al-Ḥuzayfī, Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, Ibn al-Faradī, al-Zubaydī and al-Fath b. Khayyān.

Throughout this work al-pabbī has collected 1795 verses of different poets.

This work has been edited and published by P. Costera and J. Fiberna in 1994 in Madrid.

Kitāb al-Ḥawā'id wa'l-Mubḥasāt min al-Asmā', by Ibn Baḥkūwāl

(d. 578/1183) is extant only in manuscript form (Berlin, Verzeich No. 1673). This is a dictionary of the traditionists whose names<sup>1</sup> are difficult to spell or easily confused with others. This was<sup>2</sup> written in 10 parts. The following works which fall in this category are not extant.

Kitāb al-'Uyūn al-Imārah wa Nawādir al-Siyāsah by 'Abd al-

Jabbār b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥbāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥbāḥ al-Muṭarrif, well known as Ibn al-Muṭarrif, a native of

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islām 3 : 733.

2. Al-Ḍahabī : Tadhkirah 4 : 1339.

Cordova. Ibn al-Mutarrif was a descendent of Aḥū Ṭālib, the uncle of the Prophet. He was a historian and a philologist. Ibn Baḥkūwāl has acquired information from this work for his al-Silah. He was born in 430 A.H. and died in Ramaḍān 513 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Tadhīl: by Muḥammad b. Khalef b. Sulaymān b. Faṭṭūn, Abū Bakr, of Oriyūlah, a suburb of Murcia in Spain, a critic, traditionist and historian. His other works are (1) Awhām Kitāb al-Ṣaḥābah and (2) Isālah Awhām al-Hu'jam li-Ibn Qānī'. Al-Tadhīl is a continuation of the Kitāb al-Ṣaḥābah (Al-Istī'āb) of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in two volumes. Ibn Faṭṭūn died in 519 or 520/<sup>2</sup> 1126.

Akhbār al-Qurtubīyīn : by al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yahṣab (d. 544 A.H.).<sup>3</sup> The author's chief biographers Ibn Baḥkūwāl (al-Silah : 440) and al-Dabūlī (Bughyat al-Mulṭamīs, No. 1269) have not mentioned the name of the work under consideration. Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ belonged to Sibtah of al-Maghrib and came to Spain in search of knowledge. He was a jurist and traditionist. After completing his education, he was appointed as qāḍī of Sibtah and

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1. Ibn Baḥkūwāl : al-Silah : 373.

2. Ibn Baḥkūwāl : al-Silah : 519-30; Ibn Aḥmad al-Barādī : Kitāb al-Mafī bi al-Mafayāt 3 : 45-46 (Damascus, 1901); al-Zirikilī : al-A'lām 6 : 348.

3. Ḥāǧī Khaliṣah : Kaḥf al-Ṭunūn 1 : 23.

later he became the qāḍī of Granada. His other works are (1) Al-Shifā bi-Ta'rīfī Huqūq al-Mustafā; (2) al-Shanīyah; (3) Tartīb Kitāb al-Midrāk wa-Taqrīb al-Masālik fī Ma'rifah A'lām Maḍhab al-Imām Mālik (2 vols); (3) Sharah ṣaḥīḥ Muslim; (4) Mashāriq al-Anwār (2 vols) and (5) al-Imā' ilā Ma'rifah Usūl al-Riwayah wa Taqyīd al-Samā'.<sup>1</sup> He died in Morocco. al-Zirkilī<sup>2</sup> says that the author wrote a work on history also. It may be the work under study.

Sināt al-Jamān wa Saqit al-Marjān; by 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b.

'Uthmān Abū 'Amr b. al-Imām al-Shālibī, a Spanish man of letters, biographer and historian. Al-Shālibī was born in Silves. He studied in Seville under Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-'Amirī and in Cordova under Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Makki, Ibn al-'Arabī and some other teachers. He was a Kātib and a good poet. He died after 550 A.H. He has written this work about the poets of his own period as a sequel to the works of his contemporaries, Ibn Khāqān and Ibn Jassān. He has included in it the biographies that they had omitted. This work has been lost, but many<sup>3</sup> extracts from it have been quoted in the Mughrib of Ibn Sa'id.

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1. Ibn Maḥkumī : al-Silah : 446; al-Jabbarī : Bughyat al-Multamī No. 1269; al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 5 : 282.

2. Al-Zirkilī : al-A'lām 5 : 282.

3. Al-Maqqarī : Naḥḥ al-Tib 2 : 123; Ibn al-Abbār : Takmilah : 660.

The following works<sup>1</sup> of this category written by Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 572/1183) are also not extant. Besides their title no more information is available about them.

- (1) Akhbār qudātī qurtubah, 3 parts
- (2) Hikāyat al-Mustashribah
- (3) Dhikr man Sawā al-Muwatta' 'an Mālik, 2 parts.
- (4) Akhbār al-A'mash, 3 parts
- (5) Tarjumah al-Nasā'ī
- (6) Akhbār al-Muḥāsibī
- (7) Akhbār Ismā'īl (al-Ḥafī
- (8) Akhbār Ibn Wahab
- (9) Akhbār Abī al-Mutraf al-Qunāṣā'ī
- (10) Akhbār Ibn al-Hubārak
- (11) Akhbār Ibn 'Uyaynah.

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1. Al-Dhahabī : Tadhkirah 4 : 1339.

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**Table 1**

**Duration of different developmental stages of *Dolycoris lindleri* Stål, *Eurydema pulchrum* (Westwood) and *Sagrada picta* (Fabricius) under laboratory conditions.**